

HINDU MASJIDS

Prafull Goradia

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Cover: Depicts the desecration of mandirs and their conversion into masjids

HINDU MASJIDS

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Friendship between the Hindus
and the Muslims is essential if
India is to catch up on its lost
centuries

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Aurangzeb, the Great Mughal and 17th century desecrator of temples



HINDU MASJIDS

I The Challenge

Hindu masjids personify the deep chasm, or the sharp conflict between the Hindu ethos and Muslim zealotry. The conflict must be resolved. Why are we anxious? For the simple reason that without resolution, India cannot acquire the spirit of collective honour. And without national pride, the country cannot leap forward. Individual citizens may flourish or shine, as they do even now, whether at home or overseas. But the collective performance of the country disappoints.

Many a samaritan has tried to bridge the Hindu/Muslim chasm. Perhaps no one tried more than Mahatma Gandhi who went to extraordinary lengths by leading the khilafat movement in 1919 whose logical conclusion was anti-national. Yet his mission failed and eventually India was partitioned. The reason, possibly was that well meaning bridge builders did not comprehend the mismatch between the Hindu psyche and Muslim mind. It is well known that the conceptual purpose of an average Hindu is self actualisation. Or fulfill himself by the best of *karma* which should eventually lead to *moksha*, *mukti* or *nirvana*. The Hindu universe consists of all living beings including animals, birds, reptiles et al. Since souls transmigrate, ideally violence should not exist.

On the other hand, the Judaic approach, whose most assertive vanguard is Islam, divides humanity whether between Jews and gentiles, Christians and heathens or between *momins* and *kafirs*. Islam enjoins on the *momin* to convert as many *kafirs* as possible to his religion. While doing so, he has to try and dominate whatever and whomever he can. Domination therefore is the central thrust of Islam. Whereas accommodation is the core of Hinduness. To bridge the gulf between the desire to dominate and readiness to accommodate is the challenge before *all* Indians.

This book is based on personal visits of the author to all the masjids that have been described. Visits were made in 2000 and 2001. The photographs that accom-

pany the text bear out what was discovered. Until the advent of the Lodhis, most masjids were merely *converted* from mandirs by replacing the idols with *mehrab*s and by defacing the temple statuettes. Little wonder that the masjids still look like mandirs. Mosques which were constructed by recycling the rubble of desecrated temples have a different look. This is the first time that this distinction has been made between the directly *converted* (temples into masjids) and temples rubble that has been *recycled* into new mosques.

So much for the Hindu/Muslim conflict at the macro level. A smaller although more poignant challenge, is that of the area that surrounds each Hindu masjid. To a majority of the people, the long remembered temple in the neighbourhood was about the only reachable point of pilgrimage. Nothing broke their heart more than its desecration. Do we not owe them back their mandir?

1 *The Conflict*

Each time an article on the author's visit to a temple converted into a mosque appeared in print, some friend or the other phoned to say: "why are you digging up the past? Do you want the Hindus to take revenge? Do you wish to humiliate fellow Indians who happen to be Muslim? Will not your article arouse anger which may lead to bloodshed?" Seeing a bunch of several such articles, an intellectual at Kochi declared that they can, if read widely, provoke rivers of blood a la Enoch Powell!

The author's intentions are farthest from raising such emotions. In fact, they are the opposite of such mischief since he cherishes the sole objective of uniting Indians. The greatest obstacle is the chasm between Hindus and Muslims. It led in 1947 to the partition of the country. Even the creation of Pakistan has not helped in bridging the gap. I believe that many Hindu leaders have been at once afraid, hypocritical and opportunistic. Fear of the Muslim has been deep and wide. Since it is embarrassing to admit as much, leaders have taken cover behind secularism and broadmindedness. Is this not hypocrisy? Appeasement in order to secure the Muslim vote has been the opportunism of leaders.

On his part, the average Muslim is blissfully unaware to what extent rulers among his forefathers have hit the Hindu psyche and thereby hurt it. How is he to know? The Hindu has done little to tell him. Instead, many a Hindu political leader has gone out of his way to pamper the Muslim for electoral support. This book is an attempt to bridge the communication gap, to be frank and to enable a heart to heart dialogue. That is the only way to bury hatred built over centuries and build friendship amongst the two communities. As in marriage, so in friendship, confess, confide and concede, if justified.

Another reason for this book is to try and inform Hindus in the hope that right steps would be taken and confidence regained. It was not for nothing that

Mahatma Gandhi was exasperated enough to write that every Hindu is a coward while every Muslim is a bully. Whatever be the truth, it is a fact that the average Hindu is diffident compared to many other peoples, which in turn makes Hindustan a diffident country. Contrast ourselves with the way the Chinese, especially as a nation, conduct themselves. They consider theirs as the world's central country. Incidentally, *chung* means central or middle and *wah* is country. And China in Chinese is called *Chungwah*. True, China had a central monarchy and a bureaucratic state since 259BC and even today the Chinese recall their history, not by the century but by dynasty.

The first was the Qin dynasty followed by the Han, the Ming and, lastly, the Manchu or Qing dynasties. Nevertheless, the country suffered a setback for a century or more when the central authority lost its grip and each regional warlord was his own master. During the 19th century, Britain, France, the US and Germany all forcibly extracted trading privileges including the right to import and sell opium. Japan invaded and conquered parts of China in 1937. The country regained its political self respect only in 1949 and started on the path of economic prosperity after 1978. Yet the people did not lose their pride and confidence. A great deal of our territory is under Chinese occupation. Sooner or later, we have to resolve this issue and that can be done only if India evolves a strategy suited to its own genius. In illustrating what is strategy the Sino-Indian dispute has been used. So have our north-eastern seven sister states also been used, although neither directly relates to the Hindu Muslism syndrome.

Unfortunately, we have had to suffer a continuous history of conquests and foreign rule for over seven centuries. It will take time for the Hindu mindset to be raised from servitude to mastery. Hindus can move faster if they have an understanding of their history. It would then be feasible to diagnose the slavery complex that haunts the upper fringes of Hindu society. Amongst the intelligentsia, there are many anti-Hindu Hindus. If the upper echelon of society is embarrassed about its collective identity, namely Hindu, how can the society regain its pride and self confidence?

Regrettably, a great deal of India's history is a product of prejudices. Iconoclasm was a major misfortune of Hindustan. Temples, by the hundred, if not by the thousand, were desecrated and then converted into mosques and *dargahs*. Or, they were destroyed and their rubble was used to build mosques. In all cases, the deities were buried under mosque entrances so that they could be easily trampled upon by those who came to offer prayers. How the iconoclasts wounded Hindu sentiments and

how much they traumatised the indigenous civilisation can only be a matter of conjecture. But surely the destruction of Hindu temples is a fact. Why then does it not find mention in any of the textbooks on Indian history?

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan,¹ who founded Aligarh Muslim University, is surely a reliable authority. Read what he has written in *Asar-us-Sanadid* etc.:

Quwwat al-Islam Masjid: "When Qutbu'd-Din, the commander-in-chief of Muizzu'd-Din Sam alias Shihabu'd-Din Ghuri, conquered Delhi in AH 587 corresponding to AD 1191 corresponding to 1248 Bikarmi, this idol-house (of Rai Pithora) was converted into a mosque. The idol was taken out of the temple. Some of the images sculptured on walls or doors or pillars were effaced completely, some were defaced. But the structure of the idol-house kept standing as before. Materials from twenty-seven temples, which were worth five crores and forty lakhs of Dilwals, were used in the mosque, and an inscription giving the date of conquest and his own name was installed on the eastern gate..."

When Mal'vah and Ujjain were conquered by Sultan Shamsu'd-Din in AH 631 corresponding to AD 1233, then the idol-house of Mahakal was demolished and its idols as well as the statue of Raja Bikramajit were brought to Delhi, they were strewn in front of the door of the mosque..."

In books of history, this mosque has been described as Masjid-I-Adinah and Jama' Masjid Delhi, but Masjid Quwwat al-Islam is mentioned nowhere. It is not known as to when this name was adopted. Obviously, it seems that when this idol-house was captured, and the mosque constructed, it was named Quawwat al-Islam

Let us now see what a Christian evangelist, Reverend Mathew Atmore Sherring² wrote about Benaras (*The Sacred City of the Hindus*, 1868):

When we endeavour to ascertain what the Mohammedans have left to the Hindus of their ancient buildings in Benares, we are startled at the result of our investigations. Although the city is bestrewn with temples in every direction, in some places very thickly, yet it would be difficult, I believe, to find twenty temples, in all Benares, of the age of Aurungzeb, or from 1658 to 1707. The same unequal proportion of old temples, as compared with new, is visible throughout the whole of Northern India. Moreover, the diminutive size of nearly all the temples that exist is another powerful testimony to the stringency of the Mohammedan rule. It seems

clear, that, for the most part, the emperors forbade the Hindus to build spacious temples, and suffered them to erect only small structures, of the size of cages, for their idols, and these of no pretensions to beauty.

Sherring went on to say:

If there is one circumstance respecting the Mohammedan period which Hindus remember better than another, it is the insulting pride of the Musulmans, the outrages which they perpetrated upon their religious convictions, and the extensive spoliation of their temples and shrines. It is right that Europeans should clearly understand, that this spirit of Mohammedanism is unchangeable, and that, if, by any mischance, India should again come into the possession of men and this creed, all the churches and colleges, and all the Mission institutions, would not be worth a week's purchase.

A British civil servant had a great deal to say about Mathura in the 1870s. F.S. Growse³ belonged to the Bengal Civil Service and was the Collector of Mathura district. I quote from his '*Mathura: A District Memoir*,' Bulandshahr 1882:

The neighbourhood is crowded with sacred sites, which for many generations have been revered as the traditionary scenes of Krishna's adventures; but thanks to Muhammedan intolerance, there is not a single building of any antiquity either in the city itself or its environs. Its most famous temple – that dedicated to Kesava Deva – was destroyed, as already mentioned, in 1669, the eleventh year of the reign of the iconoclastic Aurangzeb. The mosque erected on its ruins is a building of little architectural value, but the natural advantages of its lofty and isolated position render it a striking feature in the landscape.

This truth is abhorrent but must be faced squarely if only to bring about Hindu/Muslim amity and to secure the unity of India. We all know that for five centuries some Muslim rulers oppressed their Hindu subjects. They carried away young women and killed the men unless they converted to Islam. They extracted *Jizya* or protection tax and desecrated temples by the hundred. But then, all conquerors commit atrocities. Such cruelties also took place in central as well as west Asia, as well as in Europe through Turkey, Serbia, Bosnia right upto Spain. Catholics burnt Protestants at the stake just as Protestants butchered Catholics.

Yet nowhere else is the hatred as chronic and deep rooted as in India. Why? Because here, like did not oppress like. The Hindu psyche is entirely different from

the Muslim assumption. In Hindustan there was a clash between coexistence and domination, two radically different mentalities. Not merely the Muslim but Judaic peoples generally are born and bred on the assumption that it is legitimate to dominate others. Whereas the Hindu thrives on accommodation and coexistence.

The Jews and the Muslims clash and kill each other in West Asia. They get hurt but neither is traumatised. The Christians and Muslims fought the crusades no less ruthlessly. They maimed or bled one another and destroyed churches and mosques, but it was like battling like. Hence there was injury but no real trauma, no ultimate surprise. Everyone spoke, as it were, the same language of combat and understood the legitimacy of one trying to dominate the other, depending on who was stronger. Not so the votary of coexistence, the Hindu.

Jehovah to the Jew, Jesus to the Christian and Allah to the Muslim are well known. Each is omnipotent, omnipresent and only one supreme divine or the ultimate in domination; the Almighty to his followers. The Judaic faith begins here. It is legitimate for the followers of Jehovah to displace those of Jesus or of Allah in the race for winning more followers. A devout Christian would be happiest if all the world's people prayed to Christ. As a pious Muslim would have done his ultimate duty to Allah if he could get every human being to *tasleem* or accept His will. In the process, he might have to desecrate, fight or even kill.

Not so the Hindu. His ethos accepted newcomers but never persuaded them to convert. There was no method for conversion. Swami Dayanand Saraswati however introduced *shuddhi* or purification whereby a former Hindu could return to his faith. The question of fighting for new followers never arose. At the level of explanation or philosophy, there is no concept of God or any individual supreme authority. The Hindu's faith is in the *paramatma* or the total soul comprising of the mini-souls of all living beings. This totality is the divine. Ram, Krishna, Gautam Buddha or Mahavir Swami were merely liberated souls who returned to earth to redeem a degenerate world. In short, by Hindu explanation, the divine and the humans are partners, although differing in importance. But there is no question of absolute dominance.

The belief that all living beings are parts of his universe, makes the Hindu reluctant to hurt others. Hindus do kill but many of them feel guilty about such acts. Such feelings are at the root of non-violence as a philosophical preference. The belief in the transmigration of souls makes the Hindu lean towards vegetarianism. How can a Hindu quite enjoy the meat of some animal in whom may reside the soul

of his departed parent or relative? All in all, when a Hindu clashes with a Muslim, it is essentially a battle between a horse and a leopard, between a *herbivore* and a *carnivore*. An unequal combat leaves the herbivore helpless and traumatised. For one, he is not at home with the cut and thrust of violence. For another, and more importantly, the herbivore has few ways of retaliating even if he survives to fight another day. He was therefore stunned; first by Mahmud Ghazni and finally by Aurangzeb.

Quiet hatred is the escape for the traumatised Hindu. Few Muslims realise how deeply they have wounded the Hindu psyche. The reason is that, unlike Christians in the crusades, Hindus have not paid back in the same coin. How then is the Muslim to know? Think of how much sound and fury did the Babri episode arouse. No Hindu however has said that 62 temples were desecrated in Bangladesh during 1990 alone; a good two years *before* Babri. Many more after 6th December, 1992. So has written Taslima Nasrin. In Pakistan, 178 temples met the same fate. Within India, in Kashmir to be precise, some 27 mandirs were destroyed. Instead of protesting many a Hindu exclaims: "how can one right medieval wrongs with modern retaliation?" Surely there was neither Pakistan nor Bangladesh in medieval times. More recently, the Buddha was felled at Bamiyan.

To break idols and bring down temples, is a way of ensuring that Allah remains the only one. So that no worshipper is distracted from his devotion to Him. But at what cost to the Hindu psyche has this been done dear friends? Just go and see the Hindu masjids that have been described. Visit them and you will realise.

II Shuddhi in Stone

A mosque, which is obviously still *the structure* of a temple and can be used by Hindus for worship, should be returned. There are many such edifices where the *sanctum sanctorum* has been walled up, a *mehrab* constructed towards the direction of Holy Mecca and the statuettes defaced. In some cases, a small dome has been built above the *mimbar* or the pulpit. For Muslims to pray in such edifices is like using stolen property in full and continual public view. And that too for remembering Allah!

Iconoclasm was endemic to Islamic invaders and desecration of temples was widespread. At the end of this section are reproductions of three maps, a list of iconoclastic examples and the sources thereof. Although the list, covering the period 1192–1760 AD, is not exhaustive, it is by an American, Richard M. Eaton,⁴ Professor of History, University of Arizona. The maps as well as the list are taken from his *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000.

Shuddhi means purification. A pure end should be achieved by pure means. Talking to Muslim politicians is unnecessary. For one, there are no real leaders of national stature, whose word would carry weight with the masses. Second, politicians are likely to have their own agendas which can vitiate any issue. It is best to address the masses directly. If any politicians listen in, let them. Be frank, be forthright. No crooked motive, no devious manoeuvre. Neither threat nor violence. Tell our Muslim brethren, all we ask of them is: return what belonged to us and what today we can convince you is clearly ours. That would be in the spirit of *shuddhi*.

A few masjids have undergone *shuddhi*, whether in full or part, while others are still unattended and deserve a change. For example, the Gobind Dev mandir at Vrindavan was returned to the Hindus by the British some 130 years ago. While

Sultan Ghari at Delhi became a place of worship for all people; when, no one really knows. The saga at Ayodhya is incomplete. While the Nand and Rohini temple palace at Mahaban is believed to have been redeemed in the wake of independence. The edifices at Kannauj and Etawah have not undergone any stage of *shuddhi*. Since the cities are situated in Uttar Pradesh, the Waterloo of Aryavrat is a part of the series in the area.

Quwwatul Islam at Delhi and the Adhai Din Ka Jhopra at Ajmer tell the tale of vandalism so eloquently that the viewer is shocked as he enters these masjids. The Krishnajanmabhoomi as well as Kashi Vishwanath are making do with pathetic alternatives for no *shuddhi* whatsoever has taken place. So also Ataladevi at Jaunpur and Bhojshala at Dhar. At Vidisha, all worship has been suspended while a great deal of the Rudra Mahalaya complex remains buried. The Adina masjid at Malda has fallen into disuse as a place of worship, whereas Jungle Pir Baba as well as the shrine at Pavagadh are in full use as *dargahs*. Daulatabad is a case of redemption which took place on the morrow of the police action in 1948 against the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Each chapter is independent, stands on its own and there is no particular logic to its placement in the section. All in all, the edifices are monuments to the Hindu Muslim conflict. Merely because not many lay people have taken conscious notice of them, does not reduce their importance. Not all of them are objects of active controversy today; nevertheless, when visited, they are reminders of a deep conflict. If the appeal made in these pages leaves Muslim masses cold, tell them to abandon the edifices on the ground that they are objects of robbery or loot and should be too profane to be ever used for worshipping Allah, the Merciful.

2 *Shuddhi by British*

Temple beheaded for the ego of Aurangzeb

The temple today is 55 feet tall. Before its upper part was destroyed on Aurangzeb's orders in anticipation of his visit to Vrindavan in 1670 AD, the mandir was reputed to be twice that height. On its roof, after the destruction, a *mehrab* or prayer wall was erected and the iconoclastic emperor offered *namaaz*. Almost two centuries later, F.S. Growse, who belonged to the Bengal Civil Service and was Collector of Mathura District, had the *mehrab* removed. First, because it was an eyesore, and second, in an endeavour to redeem whatever character was left of the temple. Although the original idol remained at Jaipur, another set of deities was installed by the *pujaris* or priests. Since then, the temple has a flat roof. Probably, no other desecrated temple had been the subject of so much repair and refurbishment by British rulers. Of supreme importance was the fact of the mandir being restituted to Hindu devotees. It was the greatest act of *shuddhi* or purification although performed before Swami Dayanand Saraswati reintroduced Vedic procedures. Growse therefore deserves a place in the hall of Hindutva.

The Gobind Dev temple at Vrindavan, Mathura, is indeed massive; its plinth is 105 feet by 117 feet. It is estimated that the original height was about 110 feet without which it would not have been possible to see the *mashaal* or torch either from Agra or from Delhi. The temple was built in 1590 AD by Maharaja Mansingh of Jaipur.

The Gobind Dev temple is also unique for two other reasons but we shall come to these a little later. For the satisfaction of its desecrators, the *celia*, or the sanctum sanctorum, was destroyed. Fortunately, the idol of Sri Krishna or Gobind had been removed to Jaipur by the *pujaris* in anticipation of Aurangzeb's proposed visit in 1670 AD; the emperor was already notorious as an iconoclast. The roof of the trun-

cated edifice was to be reserved for *namaaz*. No sooner had the *mehrab* been constructed, as illustrated in the photograph in *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by James Fergusson,⁵ Aurangzeb inaugurated it himself by offering prayers.

All except two statuettes were defaced, including the one at the door of what is now the temple, after crossing the foyer hall. The destruction was not confined to the upper floors. It extended to the hundreds of statuettes that even today adorn the temple walls outside as well as inside, the ceilings or doors. The iconoclasts overlooked two small statuettes, one of Sri Krishna and the other of Radha, on the outside of the left wall as one faces the temple.

An American historian of Indian architecture, George Mitchell,⁶ has concluded that the original *sanctum sanctorum* was destroyed. In his own words, *once the garbhagriha has been torn down, there was little point in further wreckage... It seems to me that only those with some understanding of the ritual significance of the garbhagriha would have been capable of desecrating a temple in this careful manner.*

Prof. R Nath⁷ introduces the subject of the Gobind Dev temple by quoting Aurangzeb's decree of April, 1669. It said, *... eager to establish Islam, (Aurangzeb) issued orders to the governors of all the provinces to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels and with the utmost urgency put down the teaching and the public practice of the religion of these disbelievers. The great temple of Gobind Dev fell a victim to iconoclastic vandalism within a year of the decree. Its inner sanctum and its superstructure were almost entirely destroyed. The main hall was also damaged. Sculpted figures on the dvarasakha were literally defaced.*

The temple has yet another unique feature. According to an article in the *Calcutta Review* quoted by Growse:⁸ *Aurangzeb had often remarked about a very bright light shining in the far distant south east horizon and in reply to his enquiries regarding it, was told that it was a light burning in a temple of great wealth and magnificence at Vrindavan. He accordingly resolved that it should be put out and soon after sent some troops to the place who plundered and threw down as much of the temple as they could and then erected on the top of the ruins a mosque wall where, in order to complete the desecration, the emperor is said to have offered up his prayers.*

Incidentally, the canopy standing on four pillars, which must have acted as a shed for the burning torch or *mashaal*, is lying on the ground at the back of the



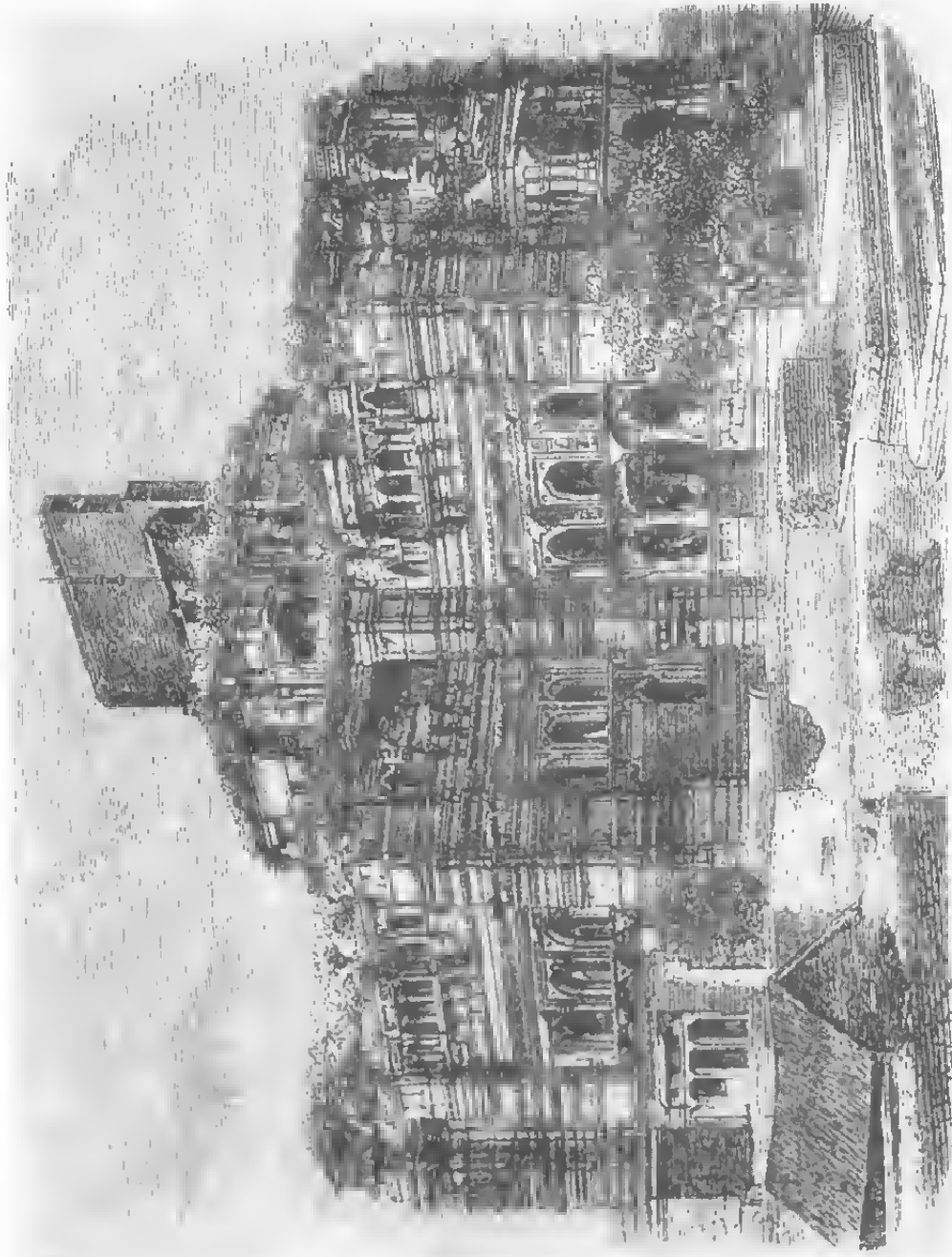
Gobind Dev temple whose top half was beheaded by Aurangzeb and the rest converted into a mosque

Photograph: March, 2001

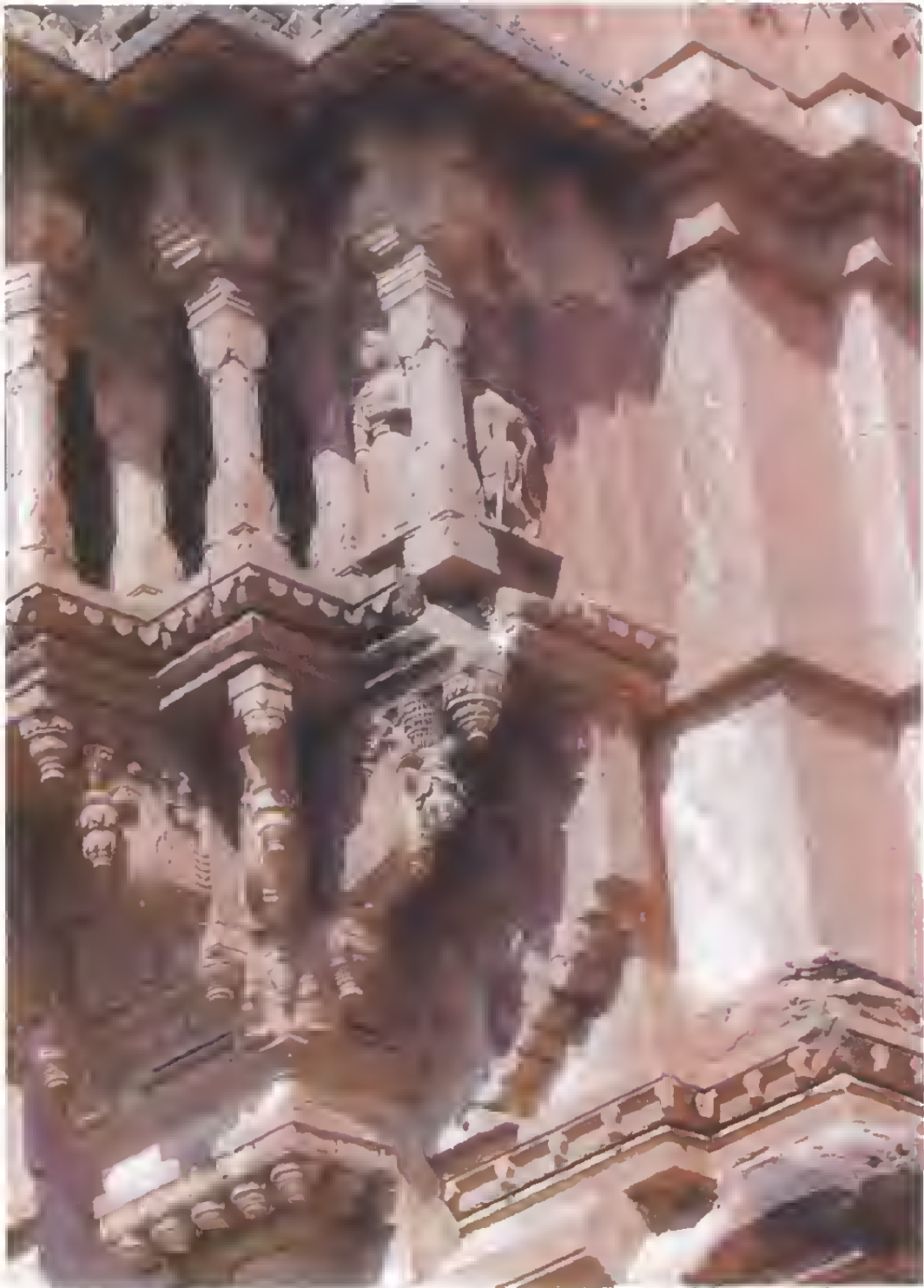


The defaced statues outside the sanctum sanctorum of Gobind Dev

Photograph: March, 2001



The beheaded temple turned mosque with a mehrab on top built for Aurangzeb to pray. Reproduced from *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by James Fergusson, John Murray, London, 1899. The mehrab was removed by F.S. Growse, Magistrate, Mathura District after 1870



The only two statues of Krishna and Radha which were overlooked by the iconoclasts of Gobind Dev temple

Photograph: March, 2001



Defaced statuettes inside Gobind Dev temple

Photograph: March, 2001

present sanctum sanctorum. It was so fixed, presumably by Growse in the 1870s. It has no relevance to the temple's architecture. This reinforces the belief that this canopy belonged to the top of the once towering temple.

While Aurangzeb's ego might have been gratified, the desecration took with it what is described by Fergusson as one of the most elegant temples in India, and the only one perhaps, from which an European architect might borrow a few hints. What did Growse have to say about this? *I should myself have thought that solemn or imposing was a more appropriate term than elegance for so massive a building and that the suggestions that might be derived from its study were many rather than few.*

A number of motives have been attributed to the invaders who desecrated temples, such as looting of treasures, subduing the populace by arousing dread, informing the area that a sultan had replaced the raja. There is, however, no other instance of a temple being desecrated because it defied the ego of an emperor.

Henry Hardy Cole⁹ has written: *I am not sure that the restoration of the uppermost parapet is correct and think that it would have been better to leave the superstructure, as it appeared when I first saw it, with all the evidence of Aurangzeb's destructive hand.*

3 *Incomplete Shuddhi*

Ramjanmabhoomi

Ayodhya is also an example of *shuddhi* albeit incomplete until a permanent Ram Lalla mandir is built. We do not know when we will overcome the controversies and when we shall be able to start building the temple. It is a simple issue. Most Hindus believe that Sri Ram was born in Ayodhya; it is a matter of faith. Most Muslims accept that Mir Baqi built the Babri edifice as a tribute to the new conqueror, Babar. In 1528 AD, there was hardly any Muslim resident in the city of Sri Ram. There were plenty of temples but no mosque. Even today there are not many Muslims who live in the vicinity, until one gets to Faizabad, several kilometres away.

For decades the edifice was not used by Muslims. In any case, the Babri masjid was one among thousand upon thousand of mosques in India. It had no special sanctity, whereas for the Hindus the birth place of Sri Ram is of infinite sentimental value. The obvious gesture should have been to gracefully hand over the edifice to Hindu devotees. But no! Some leaders formed a Babri Masjid Action Committee, when no political party had espoused the Hindu cause. In other words, leaders politicised the issue. Unfortunately, Hindu leadership did not voice home truths. Instead, they got bogged down in responding point for point, argument by argument.

The first home truth was the contrast between what Ayodhya means to the Hindu sentiment and how comparatively insignificant it is to Muslims. The second truth to pose is: how would Muslims react to a Hindu proposal to build a temple in either Mecca or Medina? The third home truth is that the Christians commemorate the birth of Lord Jesus at Bethlehem by having erected the Church of Nativity. Muslim iconoclasts have left it alone presumably as a mark of respect for Christian sentiments. Khalifa Hakeem Bi Amr Illah destroyed the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem during 1009 AD but did not touch the Church of Nativity at Bethle-

hem. Surely, the Muslims in the 20th century should be more considerate than the *khalifa* a thousand years ago. But they are not.

Instead of dealing with petty, perhaps self seeking leaders, Hindu spokesmen should have addressed the Muslim masses, frankly and openly. The initiative was however allowed to remain with the government of India, rather the prime minister who had a vested interest in allowing the controversy to persist between the spokesmen and petty leaders, without allowing either side to win. If the petty ones had succeeded in preserving the edifice, the political dividend might have eventually accrued to the likes of Viswanath Pratap Singh or Mulayam Singh Yadav. At the same time, for Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, it was best that the edifice was out of the way. A Hindu metaphor says if there is no bamboo, how can there be a flute!

Hype was therefore allowed to be generated. It became evident to the public that the spokesmen were desirous of pulling down the edifice in order to build a new temple. The author was in Ayodhya between 10.45 a.m. and 5.45 p.m. on that fateful day. The whole township around the Babri edifice was choc-a-block with around two to three lac people most of whom had come from outside for *kar seva*. The whole day was spent on the terrace of a newish small building at a distance of what looked like a furlong from the edifice. Two of the domes were clearly visible, the third one was covered by tall trees from where he was located.

Short speeches, interspersed by the singing of devotional songs, was all that was happening until about noon. A microphone was on the terrace and a few persons took turns to address the mass of *kar sevaks*. No doubt the atmosphere was charged with expectations, but there was no apparent action. Then the author saw youngsters climbing the domes and scratching them. In the course of the next hour, the surface of the domes had become the colour of sand; it had been a dirty black earlier. While the youngsters on top were exhilarated, crowds below uttered cries of thrill from time to time. For anyone who had the leisure to think, it was obvious that this was hardly the way to demolish the structure.

Around this time, two photographers ran to the terrace and complained that some five of them had been manhandled and the camera of one of them had been snatched and smashed. The author concluded that the target was not the photographers but the cameras, since the *kar sevaks* inside the edifice were anxious not to be photographed. They were using crowbars to attack the top of the walls on which the domes rested. The objective must have been to weaken the base of the domes sufficiently for them to collapse. This also the author heard from the photographers

as the terrace was too far away. Around 2.30 p.m. a dull thud was heard, followed by the crowd shouting with delight. This was presumably when the dome collapsed, but that was not visible from the terrace.

The chanting of *bhajans* and the shouting of slogans continued with the help of the mike on the terrace which was packed not only with sympathisers but also many police officers. There were many policemen in uniform in Ayodhya. They however had little to do since the *kar sevaks* on duty were making sure that there was no disorder. In fact, the only incident of manhandling of a person during the whole day, was that concerning the photographers. One could now see a stream of young *kar sevaks* bringing away small pieces of debris to take home as souvenirs.

Then suddenly at 3.40 p.m. one of the two remaining domes collapsed. This time there was clapping. The cries of delight could be heard with the mass clapping. The scene on the terrace had to be seen to be believed. Jubilation was uncontrolled and many tears of joy were shed at Ayodhya. At 4.30 p.m, the third dome fell and for a while the birth town of Sri Ram saw a riot of exhilaration. Over the centuries, thousands of temples had been desecrated across north India. At last, the Hindus present felt that they had got back at least one of them.

As the sun was receding on the short winter day, it was getting cold and the *kar sevaks* began to melt away from the Ramjanmabhoomi. The author left the terrace at 5.30 p.m. and was back in his car before 5.45 p.m. Soon after, he heard on the radio that the chief minister had resigned and subsequently his ministry had been dismissed and Governor's rule imposed in Uttar Pradesh by the central government.

On the way back to Lucknow, many scenes kept coming back to his mind. The one scene that kept recurring the most, was that of the huge edifice, tall and with thick walls standing without domes. At the little motel in Lucknow, probably at 9.30 p.m. or 10.00 p.m., he heard Prime Minister Narasimha Rao speaking on TV. He condemned the demolition as a dirty and shameful act and promised to rebuild the Babri masjid. The author therefore wondered before falling asleep, whether the central government would replace the three domes post haste. The whole of his next day was spent in driving back to Delhi.

On the 10th morning, most of the newspapers had a photograph of a small flat little temple with a tiny flag flying at its centre. This was the temple built quickly by the central government on the site of the demolished edifice for the Ram Lalla

idol which, incidentally, the author had the privilege to see on the terrace on the afternoon of December sixth. A *pujari* or priest had brought the black idol to the terrace in his anxiety to save it from the crashing domes.

Seeing the photograph of the new Ram Lalla temple, the author realised that the central government had demolished the walls of the edifice. He was thunder struck by the hypocrisy of the secular government of India which had promised to rebuild the masjid. The government instead had demolished the walls in a matter of 60 hours between the evening of the 6th and the morning of the 9th when this photograph must have been taken. No picture of the edifice sans its domes has been seen by anyone the author knows. Evidently, Ayodhya was cordoned off while the walls were demolished and the debris removed with extraordinary despatch.

The author said to himself: even if he could not help a friend to rebuild his broken roof, at least, he would not go to his friend's house and demolish the walls. But that is what the central government did at Ayodhya in December, 1992.

4 Spontaneous Shuddhi

The spontaneous use of the dargah of Sultan Ghari where Hindus perform puja side by side with Muslims performing ibaadat

The first example of *shuddhi* that the author came across was the tomb of Sultan Ghari which has an interesting history and a delightful present. If only this example of popular spontaneity can be extended to all the temples converted into mosques, would there not be Hindu-Muslim friendship? Just go any afternoon and see for yourself.

As Naqvi,¹⁰ an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) wrote in January 1947, the tomb is situated in a very remote corner of Delhi; it is situated amidst what is now a large residential colony called Vasant Kunj. It is called the tomb of Sultan Ghari because it is deep down below the ground level as if in a cave, which in Persian means *ghari*. It is the grave of Prince Nasiruddin Mahmud, heir apparent of Sultan Iltutmish, a successor of Qutbuddin Aibak of the Mamluk dynasty. The prince had died while he was governor in 1228AD at Lakhnauti, the modern Dhaka in Bangladesh. His father was very much alive then and Sultan of Delhi.

Islamic technology of construction had not yet been established in India. During the early sultanate period, it was not uncommon to convert Hindu stone edifices, which were mostly temples, into mosques, mausoleums, *mazaars* etc. As Naqvi has pointed out, the first Muslim architectural style in India had the characteristic features of trabeate construction adopted from Hindu traditions to Muslim designs. The idea was to build mock arches and domes by means of corbelled horizontal courses; the use of column and beam and *not* the truly rounded arch and dome. What else could have been done in the act of conversion, as distinct from the process of original construction, which had to wait until the advent of the Lodhis?

Sultan Ghari's is the oldest Muslim tomb known to exist in India as recorded by several scholars including Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.¹¹ It is also an outstanding example of Muslim tolerance. On a March afternoon of 2001, when the author visited the tomb along with his colleagues, it was being used for worship by scores of Hindus as well as a few Muslim families. There were flowers and *agarbattis* or incense sticks galore in the crypt in the underground round chamber where also lies buried Prince Nasiruddin.

Naqvi has taken pains to describe at length the edifice which began as a temple, got converted into a tomb and to which was added a masjid with a marble *mehrab* and then a gate with pretty Arabic calligraphy of verses from the Holy Quran. As he puts it, *the gateway projects 13½ feet from the enclosure wall and is approached and entered by a flight of steps flanked by two square rooms which are roofed with stone slabs in the Hindu fashion. The external archway of the gate is formed by overlapping courses of marble and around it is the important Arabic inscription in Kufic characters.*

He goes on, *after crossing the threshold, one stands under the eastern colonnaded verandah, the flat roof of which rests on red sandstone pillars. The latter are not uniformly carved, indicating that they have been re-used here from an older building. Opposite this colonnade and along the whole length of the western wall runs another colonnaded verandah with a prayer chamber in the centre erected in white marble and covered with a corbelled pyramidal dome. The dome is almost certainly re-used and is lavishly carved internally with Hindu motifs, notably bands of lozenge or triangular patterns. The marble mehrab is embellished with verses from the Quran and a floral design. The floor is paved with marble slabs. The rest of the verandah on either side of the prayer chamber comprises red sandstone pillars and pilasters supporting a flat roof of Hindu design, with a brick work parapet.*

The pillars of the peristyle deserve notice, stresses Naqvi, because he had observed the Hindu characteristics of the edifice. Those of the prayer chamber are of fluted white marble and have an almost Grecian aspect. Their capitals bear a resemblance to that of the Doric order, combined above with Corinthian like scrolls. The shafts have sixteen flutes and bases of Hindu character. The remaining sandstone pillars are assembled from different pieces, so that in any given example, the present combination of base, shaft and capital may not be original.

He winds up his description with the words: *The Hindu elements in the architecture of the monument are apparent in the dome of the mosque and the partly*



The roof of Sultan Ghari's tomb at Delhi which was once a temple, then a mosque and now both

Photograph: March, 2001



Entrance to Sultan Ghari

Photograph: March, 2001

defaced Hindu motifs on some of the pillar brackets of the western colonnade. The presence of a Gauripatta or receptacle of a linga in the pavement of the western colonnade is a further significant point. Furthermore, the marble stones in the external facade of the mosque are serially numbered, indicating their removal from elsewhere.

Yet another officer of the ASI, Sharma¹² published his findings in 1964. He had the advantage of research already done by Cunningham, as well as Naqvi who has been quoted earlier. A particularly refreshing point that Sharma makes is with regard to a couple of sculptured lintels and an upright stone railing that were found embedded in the roof of the edifice. The frieze or a band of decoration carved on one of the lintels has, what appears to be a bull and a horse facing each other. This was further proof of the Hinduness of Sultan Ghari's tomb.

Sharma went on to add that *in the eighth century, or a little earlier, a large temple existed at the site of the Sultan Ghari's tomb, 8 km west of the Qutb-Minar. The temple was erected probably by some feudatory of the Pratiharas.*

Cunningham's observations made in 1871/72 should be taken even more seriously because his impartiality would be beyond doubt. There would be no bias as between the Hindu and Muslim viewpoints. In the ASI report of those years he has written that *the tomb of Sultan Ghari, with its domes of overlapping courses, appears to be pre-Muhammadan, but when to this feature we add the other Hindu features, both of construction and ornamentation, the stones set without cement in the walls, the appearance of wear or weathering of the stones, greater even than in the Kutb, though similar in material, and the fact that the inner cell was originally finished in granite, but afterwards cased with marble, it becomes extremely probable that this is, like the Kutb, a Hindu building appropriated by the Muhammadans, and the probability is rendered almost a certainty by the existence of the central cell, which is a construction adapted to some Hindu forms of worship, the Saivic, but which is an anomaly in Muhammadan architecture.*

We can conclude that Sultan Ghari's is an example of a Hindu temple converted into a Muslim tomb in the crypt and a mosque on the roof. Yet the people of the area believe that Hindu devotees have been welcome to worship at the edifice for as long as can be remembered. There is no record of any dispute over this building.

5 *Waterloo of Aryavarta*

Kannauj was the centre of northern Hindustan until it was destroyed by Muslim invaders

It is strange that what a writer on Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti and the Dargah Sharief at Ajmer has said about the role of Raja Jaichand should have precipitated our visit to Kannauj on August 2, 2001. Equally strange is the fact that our interest in this great capital city of ancient Hindustan was first aroused in 1983 by Dr N.K. Bezbaruah, the versatile grand old man of Assam. He then told us how proud he was to claim direct lineage from one of the chosen Kannauj Brahmins, who were invited specially to introduce Hinduism amongst the Ahoms who had captured power in Assam and had set up their capital city at Sibsagar in the 13th century. Incidentally, the Ahoms belonged to the Shan race whose base was in Thailand. The doctor was bemoaning the paradox of his clan being, on the one hand, so proud of its Hindu ancestry and, on the other, a few sons of the same proud families taking to guns and terrorism, as it were, against the rest of Hindustan.

At Elphinstone College, Mumbai, during 1955/56, the author had ancient Indian history as one of his honours subjects. Although he was an average student, he had certainly read enough to be aware of the old glory of Kannauj. If there was anything to obliterate one's memory of Kannauj, the infamy of Raja Jaichand certainly would not permit it. It is believed that but for the treachery of Jaichand, Prithviraj Chauhan would not have lost the second Battle of Tarain. The trend of Indian history might have been different. Yet, see how inert we have remained that the author should have to wait till he was 64 years old before visiting Kannauj!

Only recently he came across a biography of Hazrat Chishti by Maulana Garib Nawaz Ajmeri.¹³ At some stage, Moinuddin Chishti appealed to Allah for guidance. The divine answer reportedly came in a vision whose message was that Prith-



Jami Masjid of Kannauj, a temple pavilion converted into a mosque with a small shallow dome over the mimbar

Photograph: August, 2001

viraj Chauhan would be captured alive and his kingdom snatched away. The biographer then implies that moves were initiated which resulted in Raja Jaichand Rathod's withdrawal from the Rajput alliance. The resulting disunity opened an opportunity for Sultan Muhammad Ghauri to come back to Hindustan and defeat Prithviraj.

Before we recall the glory of ancient Kannauj, let the author tell you what he and his colleagues saw that day. As it were, to portray the historical humiliation of the vanquished, the city's main temple is situated in the valley, if not quite a ravine, on the outer edges of the Ganga. It is the Gauri Shankar mandir. To visit every Muslim edifice of significance, we had to climb to a peak beginning with the *dargah* of Balapir Saheb. We then climbed further to another peak which was called the Ahmed Tola on the crest of which stands the Jama or Dina masjid.

What struck us immediately, was its spick and span whitewash. Evidently, the masjid was carved out of a large square pavillion standing on innumerable square pillars. Approximately, half the square is still covered with a flat roof standing on 68 pillars. In the walls, both of the masjid and its compound, are embedded more pillars. Those which must have stood in, what is now, the compound are no longer there. The ceiling is also flat just as in the Ataladevi masjid in Jaunpur as well as the Adhai Din Ka Jhopra in Ajmer.

The difference here was that at the centre above the *mimbar*, from where the imam reads the *khutba* on Fridays, is a small shallow dome. Evidently, the roof at that spot was cut in a circle to accommodate the dome. This is not merely the author's guess; it was confirmed when we visited the Makhdoom Jahaniya *dargah* half an hour later. It is now a tomb cum masjid. There, a similar circle over the *mimbar* has been cut into the roof but not covered. It is therefore possible for the imam to see the sky right above him while he is delivering the *khutba*.

To get back to Jama masjid, even the bright young man Qamar Ali, a member of the local *palika* or municipality who was kind enough to show us round, confirmed that he could not talk much about the history of the masjid. Looking at the sky, he said it could have been anything. The milkman or rather a small dairy owner, Saughat Khan, was surprisingly well informed. But for him, history began with the arrival of Muhammad Ghauri and not at the dawn of civilisation. Since he was unable to read Persian, he felt he could not tell us enough. He only wished that a Chaturvedi Saheb of Hardoi was available. He knew four languages and was therefore called Chaturvedi! Nevertheless, Saughat was happy to have brought us



Makhdoom Jahaniya Dargah at Kannauj converted from a temple but without a dome over the mimbar

Photograph: August, 2001

to the peak of the city, and give us the benefit of the cool breeze that was blowing despite it being noon on a hot day. This, he said, was a great advantage of the masjid being on a high peak of the city.

The author's colleagues felt that he was being unduly mild while describing a major molestation of Hindu civilisation. They promptly showed the author Volume I of Cunningham's¹⁴ report. The author cannot help quoting, however sparingly, from what the most outstanding archaeologist of India reported:

The Jama or Dina Masjid of Kanoj is cited by Fergusson (James Fergusson was a British architect who surveyed many buildings in north India during the 19th century) as a specimen of Hindu cloisters, which has been rearranged to suit the purposes of Muhammadan worship; and in this opinion I most fully concur... it must originally have been the site of some Hindu building of considerable importance. This conclusion is partly confirmed by the traditions of the temple, who, however, most absurdly call the place Sita-ka-Rasui, or "Sita's kitchen"... When I first visited Kanoj in January 1838, the arrangement of the pillars was somewhat different from what I found in November 1862. The cloisters which originally extended all round the square, are now confined to the masjid itself, that is, to the west side only. This change is said to have been made by a Muhammadan Tahsildar shortly before 1857. The same individual is also accused of having destroyed all the remains of figures that had been built into the walls of the Jama and Makhdum Jahaniya masjids... Also, the inscription over the doorway is said to have been removed at the same time for the purpose of cutting off a Hindu figure on the back of it. I recovered this inscription by sending for the present Tahsildar.

The Gazetteer of Farrukhabad district edited and compiled by E.R. Neave,¹⁵ ICS, 1911, is even more forthright. To quote:

The iconoclastic fury of Mahmud Ghazni swept away all the Hindu religious edifices of dates anterior to the tenth century, and later buildings of any size or importance are almost exclusively Muhammdan... A luckily preserved copy of the much obliterated inscription over the entrance doorway shows that it was by Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur that the building was regenerated in 1406 AD.

An observation or two about the surviving Makhdum Jahaniya is necessary if an archaeological highlight is not to be missed in our report on Kannauj. The mosque-cum-tomb is situated on a lofty mound or a peak, in what has come to be known as the Sikhana Mahalla. Apart from what has been briefly mentioned earlier, there is



Beautiful interior of Makhdoom Jahaniya which was evidently a temple.

Photograph: August, 2001

little that is noteworthy except what Cunningham reported. When he visited, there was inscribed on a panel on the back wall the name of Allah on a tablet suspended by a rope. He goes on: *The appearance of the tablet and rope is so like that of the Hindu bell and chain that one is almost tempted to believe that the Muhammadan architect must have simply chiselled away the bolder points of the Hindu ornament to suit his own design.* Incidentally, he goes on to say that during his 1838 visit: *I had found a broken figure of Shasti, the goddess of fecundity, and a pedestal with a short inscription, dated in Samvat 1193, or A.D. 1136. The people also affirm that a large statue formerly stood under a tree close by. All of these are now gone, but the fact that two of them were built into the entrance steps is sufficient to show that the mound on which the masjid stands must once have been the site of some important Hindu building.*

Moved by the rampant destruction that he saw as well as surmised, towards the end of his report on Kannauj, Cunningham says: *The probable position of these Brahmanical temples was on the high mound of Makhdum Jahaniya, in the Sikhana Mahalla which is about 700 feet to the south of the last mentioned mound in the Bhatpuri Mahalla. That this mound was the site of one or more Brahmanical temples seems almost certain from my discovery of a figure of Shasti, the goddess of fecundity, and of a pedestal bearing the date of Samvat 1193 or AD 1136.*

Kannauj was indeed the capital of Aryavarta or ancient northern India. Its glory is best described by several foreigners who visited it, beginning with the Greek, Ptolemy around 140 AD, to the Persian Farishta, who left behind his account of 1016 AD when Mahmud Ghazni invaded Kannauj. All these accounts have been succinctly covered by Cunningham in the course of one paragraph which reads as follows:

In AD 1016, when Mahmud of Ghazni approached Kanoj, the historian relates that he there saw a city which raised its head to the skies, and which in strength and structure might justly boast to have no equal. Just one century earlier, or in AD 915, Kanoj is mentioned by Masudi as the capital of one of the Kings of India, and about AD 900 Abu Zaid, on the authority of Ibn Wahab, calls Kaduge, a great city in the kingdom of Gozar. At a still earlier date in AD 634, we have the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thasang, who describes Kanoj as being 20 li, or three and a quarter miles, in length, and 4 or 5 li, or three quarter of a mile, in breadth. The city was surrounded by strong walls and deep ditches, and was washed by the Ganges along its eastern face. The last fact is corroborated by Fa Hian, who states that the city touched the River Heng (Ganges) when he visited it in AD 400. Kanoj

is also mentioned by Ptolemy, about AD 140, as Kanogiza. But the earliest notice of the place is undoubtedly the old familiar legend of the Puranas, which refers the Sanskrit name of Kanya-Kubja, or the hump-backed maiden to the curse of the sage Vayu on the hundred daughters of Kusanabha.

Having read what was said by Cunningham as well as Neave, it would be useful to also see what Stanley Lane-Poole, wrote: *Sultan Mahmud Ghazni fought his greatest campaign in 1018, and pushed further east than ever before. He marched upon Kanauj, the capital of the Tomara rajas and then reputed the chief city of Hindustan. The march was an orgy and an ovation... Kanauj was reached before Christmas. The raja had already fled at the mere bruit of the sultan's coming, and the seven forts of the great city on the Ganges fell in one day. Of all its gorgeous shrines not a temple was spared. Nor were the neighbouring princes more fortunate. 174 years later came another cataclysm this time perpetrated by Muhammad Ghauri in 1192. The Rathors fled south to found a new principality at Marwar, and Kanauj and Benares became part of the empire of Ghor.*

Lane Poole's thesis iterates that in most cases, the destruction perpetrated by the invaders on the Hindu capital cities was conclusive enough to see their permanent end. Kannauj is an outstanding example. So was Ujjain, Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, and Ajmer. The ruling elites, Rajputs or others, evidently saw no future in a revival and migrated to other areas. Rajputana offered an useful sanctuary because of the Aravalli hills as well as stretches of desert which made defence against Islamic aggression possible. The arrival of Raja Jaichand's grandson in Marwar is an example.

The author prefers to quote either British authorities or Muslim chroniclers so that neither authenticity nor objectivity is questioned. However, before moving on to the next monument, he wishes to iterate that additions and alterations of such historic edifices are still taking place. He was quite put off by the white-washing, however fresh or glistening, that had been done on the granite pillars and ceiling of the Jama masjid. The Makhdum Jahaniya fortunately has not suffered this ugly transformation. On the other hand, the Jami masjid at Etawah, only about a hundred kilometres away, which we visited the previous day, was also a casualty of white-washing. What should be the role of the Archaeological Survey is best answered by its directors and, perhaps, the Ministry of Culture.

The Jami masjid at Etawah is an even more interesting example of *sweep* under the carpet and conceal. In fact, it is more illustrative. Not only is the masjid



Front of Jami Masjid at Etawah

Photograph: August, 2001



Inside Jami Masjid at Etawah with a carved temple pillar recently coated with aluminium paint in an attempt to conceal the carvings

Photograph: August, 2001

white-washed, a number of pillars have been subjected to several coats of aluminium paint. This was applied to a surface made smooth perhaps by the use of plaster. The pillars that had white lime on them, were plain granite.

On balance, perhaps Etawah was not very different from what we saw the following day at Kannauj. It was basically a pavillion with a flat roof standing on pillars. Only a small dome had been constructed over the *mimbar*. The architectural adviser of the invaders was evidently the same individual. The antecedents of the edifice are best described in the words of C. Horne,¹⁶ Judge of Mainpuri district:

The Jama masjid is the principal place of Muhamdan worship in the city. It is situated on some high ground to the right of the Gwalior Road proceeding towards the Jamuna and is curious as having been originally an old Hindu structure. He goes on: It would appear to have originally formed part of a cloister and that there were four round chapels each with sixteen pillars and a large chapel in the middle, intended for the idol. The courtyard is enclosed by a mean brick wall and now contains a small Chaitya, about nine feet square covering a Musalman tomb, where four pillars support a flat roof with eavestones of red sandstone projecting some two feet out on each side.

6 Reclaimed Temple at Mahaban

Temple of Rohini, desecrated by Mahmud Ghazni, Alauddin and Aurangzeb, again a mandir

Gokul is well known as the place to which newly born Krishna was taken from Mathura, by his father Vasudev, to save his baby son from being killed by his brother-in-law Kansa. There, at the home of Nand and Yashoda, Krishna spent his childhood. Mahaban however is less known although it is the twin township of Gokul and only about two kilometres away. The word means a big forest which it must have also been in those early times. Mahaban was the place where Krishna, his step-brother and their cowherd friends played as children. Nand, their foster father had his second house at Mahaban, where Balaram and his mother Rohini stayed during those turbulent years.

Believed to be an expansion of this same house of Nand are the 80 pillars or in Hindi the Assi-khamba bhavan on the Chhattipalna of the Mathuranath complex. When the author and his colleagues visited it on July 14, 2001, it was a temple dedicated to Nand, Rohini, Balaram and Krishna. When however Cunningham,¹⁷ went there during 1882-83, he found a masjid established in the time of Aurangzeb. He had known of its existence by reading its history by Growse, although he himself discovered an inscription on stone of 29 lines by Raja Ajaya Pala Deva dated 1150 AD.

Cunningham called it a masjid which was made up of Hindu materials. It is difficult to agree with Cunningham. The author feels that a Hindu building was converted into a masjid and not made up or rebuilt with Hindu materials. If it had been rebuilt, its Muslim builder would have excluded the inscription of Raja Ajaya as well as all the statuettes on the pillars and walls. The fact that they have been muti-

lated is a clear indication that the then existing Hindu edifice was quickly converted into a masjid. Apart from the factor of quickness, there must have been the lack of readily available architects and artisans familiar with Islamic architecture. Hence, a great deal of the early Muslim buildings in Hindustan were conversions of Hindu temples. A distinctly Islamic style did not emerge until about the advent of the Lodis in the course of the 15th century.

On the day of our visit, we saw two tombs immediately outside the 80 pillared edifice. The priest told us that they were of Rus Khan and his brother. He however did not sound confident and added that his seniors had told him so. On the other hand, Cunningham has mentioned in his report that: *at the north end of the Assi-khamba Masjid, there is a small tomb of Sayid Yahia of Mashad, under a nim tree. As he is the reputed recoverer of the fort of Mahaban from the Hindus, I presume that he must have destroyed the temple and built a mosque in its place. Mr. Growse places this event in the reign of Ala-ud-din, or A.H. 695 to 715.* It would be worthwhile to trust the information of the head of the ASI and discount what the young priest said. It is possible that the first desecration of the temple took place during the raid by Mahmud Ghazni when in 1017 AD he also vandalised Mathura. The next destruction took place during the reign of Khilji. Aurangzeb's crime was a subsequent one. This version also fits into the theory of direct quick conversions of temples into mosques belonging to the pre-Lodi centuries.

Due to the series of catastrophes, Mahaban was not able to recover. In 1884, according to the gazetteer of the North Western Provinces, Volume VIII,¹⁸ it was the headquarters of a large tehsil. Although it could scarcely be called more than a largish village. In its heyday, Mahaban was an important satellite township of the fabulous Mathura. Although it shrank in importance, its history was colourful. It was a gathering place for the imperial army sent by Iltutmish against Kabinagar in 1234 AD. In 1634, Shahjahan hunted in its vicinity. During 1757, Ahmed Shah Abdali happened to camp at Mahaban. In 1804, Yashwant Rao Holkar crossed the Yamuna at Mahaban while fighting against the British. The old fort surrounding quite a large area around Mahaban was, incidentally, built much earlier by Rana Katira of Mewar.

From our point of view, the crucial question is: when and how did this temple turned mosque again become a temple? The young priests present during our visit were not clear. Nor was an old gentleman who was a trustee of the temple and happened to be available on the spot. On the apron of the entrance to the temple as well as in the courtyard beyond and below the two Muslim tombs, there are innumerable



Many of the 80 pillars visible at the temple of Rohini in Mahaban near Gokul, converted into a mosque and now again a mandir

Photograph: July, 2001

square marble tiles, say 20 cm × 20 cm. On each is engraved in lead the name and address of its donor. Remarkably, all the tiles are dated 1948 or after. On none could we spot an earlier date. Nor did any of them look very old or worn. This indicates that the worship of the Krishna family at the temple must have resumed after independence. The priest at the mandir, which commemorates the memory of newly born Krishna at Gokul, told us that Hindu worship was resumed at Mahaban after the Muslim officials ran away due to communal tensions that followed partition. Until then, according to the priest, the 80 pillars edifice was used as a *kutcherry* or office of some Islamic organisation. Our young guide had said earlier that while Gokul was almost exclusively a Brahmin township, Mahaban had a mixed population.

Enough of legends and impressions. Let us quote what Cunningham had written during 1882-83: *the long building known as Assi-khamba or the eighty pillars which has been appropriated by the Hindus as the scene of Krishna's infancy under the name of Chhatti-palna or the sixth day cradle, a purification ceremony performed on the sixth day after child birth.* This statement implies that the Mahaban edifice had been returned to the Hindus by 1882 although Cunningham himself calls it a masjid in the same report. Be that as it may be, to us, Mahaban is an example of *shuddhi* in stone, the return of a mandir to whom it belonged.

According to Growse, Father Tieffenthaller, a Christian missionary, visited Mahaban during the middle of the 18th century. From what he wrote, it seems that both Hindus and Muslims were in joint possession of the eighty pillar edifice. One part was a mosque, while the other was a temple, although the Frenchman used the word pagode or pagoda. Keeping in view what we saw on our visit and what we have read since, it appears that the entire northern portion of the eighty pillar building was used by Muslims as a mosque, with the grave of Sayid Yahia on the apron. The compound gate was also on the northern side. The back or the southern side, was used as a mandir.

Subsequently, the Hindus must have withdrawn. This belief is based on the fact that all the marble tablets belong to the post-Independence period. This indicates disuse of the temple for a long time. Evidently, when Cunningham visited Mahaban, there must have been a semblance of Hindu possession although substantively it was a masjid. Which is what the ASI chief has called it. It is also possible that in course of time, the building ceased to be used as a mosque and used more as a *kutcherry* or office of either a *waqf* or a government agency. All in all, the mandir's final *shuddhi* does not appear to have taken place until Independence.



Graves of Ruskhan and his brother at the northern end of Rohini temple, Mahaban

Photograph: July, 2001

7 Qutbuddin and 27 Mandirs

Desecration near Qutb Minar

Reporting on the monuments of Delhi in 1871 AD, J.D. Beglar¹⁹ of the Archeological Survey of India, had an interesting theory after he explored the Quwwatul Islam mosque which is situated next to the Qutb Minar, ASI Report 1871/72. In his own words: *it remains only to add a suggestion that the unsightly layer of irregular stones that cover up the courtyard be removed; it will then be possible to state definitely whether or not a central grand temple existed. From examples elsewhere, I am sanguine that traces of a central shrine will be found on careful examination.*

The legendary world traveller Ibn Batuta²⁰ was categorical about the mosque being a conversion from a cluster of temples. On the site of the mosque, he wrote, there was a *butkhana* or a house of idols. After the conquest of Delhi, it was turned into a mosque. Even today one cannot fail to notice the image of Ganesh on the rear plinth of the mosque.

Proximity induces apathy rather like familiarity breeding contempt! Countless people visit Qutb Minar each year. But how many of them remember having seen the mosque next door, Quwwatul Islam? The story of this mosque is told on the tablet displayed on the spot by the Archaeological Survey of India. It is a story of how 27 temples were desecrated and how their rubble was used to build a mosque in their place. It was to announce to the regional populace that the Raja was gone and the Sultan had taken over.

In those days, there were no means of communication other than the beating of drums which could not reach very far beyond a village. On the other hand, a popular temple was a place of pilgrimage, several times a year. The devotees would



Rows of temple pillars that now form a pavillion in the Quwwatul Islam mosque next to Qutb Minar, Delhi

Photograph: June, 2000



Pillar with defaced statuettes at Quwwatul Islam mosque

Photograph: June, 2000

suddenly discover that the sanctum of their beloved *avataar* had been broken into pieces and rebuilt with something that, in their eyes, was devastatingly offensive. Most often the old stones and statues that earlier adorned the temple walls could be recognised. For, they had been used in building the mosque. This viewpoint has limited validity.

The desecration had its vicarious side. For, there is no record or mention anywhere that the idol of the presiding deity of the mandir was removed and handed over to the priest for taking away to another temple. In fact, in many cases, there were gleeful references to how the idol was destroyed and its broken pieces were buried under the entrance of the mosque. So that they would be routinely stepped on by those who came visiting for their *ibadat*.

The desecration at Mehrauli was probably the first perpetrated by Muhammad Ghauri. It is situated next to the famous Qutb Minar. The masjid was named after its builder, Qutbuddin Aibak, as *Quwwatul Islam*, which, translated into English, means the *Might of Islam*. The name itself is arrogant; for a place of worship it is even more so.

The mosque was located at the citadel which came to be known as *Qila Rai Pithora*. The conversion began soon after the second Battle of Tarain, in 1192 AD, wherein Muhammad Ghauri defeated and killed Prithviraj Chauhan. It might be recalled that in the first battle of Tarain, it was Prithviraj who had defeated Ghauri and did not kill him, but let him go. *Kshama veerasya bhushanam* or forgiveness beholds a hero is what the then ruler of Delhi must have had in mind.

Let us quote the version given in the *Oxford History of Islam*:²¹ *The immense congregational mosque in Delhi known as Quwwat al-Islam (Might of Islam) was one of the first built in India. Begun in 1191, the mosque stands on the site of a pre-Islamic temple whose ruins were incorporated in the structure. The tall iron pillar in the courtyard, originally dedicated to the Indian god Vishnu around 400, was re-erected as a trophy to symbolize Islam's triumph over Hinduism.*

Many centuries earlier, Alexander of Macedon had defeated King Porus in 326 BC on the banks of the Jhelum and promptly made him his ally. Ghauri, evidently, had a killer instinct, so lauded in the West, as necessary for victory. Anyway, to kill or not to kill is the privilege of the victor. But monumental humiliation cannot be the doing of any one except a coward.



The defaced statuettes on the pillars of Quwwatul Islam mosque, Delhi

Photograph: June, 2000



A pillar with defaced statuettes in Quwwatul Islam mosque

Photograph: June, 2000

The Quwwatul mosque was converted from 27 Hindu and Jain temples that were destroyed. It is a monument to a people's humiliation. If it were not so, all the statuettes that still adorn the pillars in the mosque need not have been so blatantly displayed. Even after 800 years, they are, as it were, alive for the conquered to see. And not only for the conquered but for all their successors who would ever visit this mosque. Surely, it is un-Islamic to have anything to do with images. Portraits and statues are *haraam* and yet Quwwatul Islam has displayed them. If Aibak had been even slightly considerate, not just towards the conquered, but even towards his own religion, he would have covered the figurines with lime and sand.

However, when one reads what Sir Syed Ahmed Khan²² of Aligarh fame proudly wrote about the destruction of 27 temples, one's impression of Islam gets shaken. What he wrote is best read in his original words, (from his Urdu book, *Asar-us-Sanadid*, translated by Prof. Khaleeq Anjum, Delhi in 1990, Volume I):

Quwwatal-Islam Masjid'd Din Sam alias Shihabu'd-Din Ghauri, conquered Delhi in AH 587 corresponding to AD 1191 corresponding to 1248 Bikarmi, this idol-house (of Rai Pithora) was converted into a mosque. The idol was taken out of the temple. Some of the images sculptured on walls or doors or pillars were effaced completely, some were defaced. But the structure of the idol-house kept standing as before.

Material from twenty-seven temples, which were worth five crore and forty lakh of Dilwals, were used in the mosque, and an inscription giving the date of conquest and his own name was installed on the eastern gate.

When Malwah and Ujjain were conquered by Sultan Shamsu'd-Din in AH 631 corresponding to AD 1233, then the idol-house of Mahakal was demolished and its idols as well as the statues of Raja Bikramajit were brought to Delhi, they were strewn in front of the door of the mosque.

The relish with which the founder of Aligarh Muslim University appears to have written this, is indeed surprising. At that time, the capital of India was still in Calcutta. Had it been transferred to Delhi, his pleasure might perhaps have been greater. For, the Raisina Hill from where India is governed, is only a few miles from Mehrauli where this monument to Hindu humiliation still stands.



A Ganesh idol with its trunk cut off, on the outer wall of Quwwatul Islam mosque, Delhi

Photograph: June, 2000



Vandalised statuettes at Quyywatul Islam mosque

Photograph: June, 2000



A Hindu idol on an outer wall of Quwwatul Islam mosque, Delhi

Photograph: June, 2000

8 *Instant Vandalism*

*In 60 hours a set of splendid temples at Ajmer
were converted into a masjid*

A furlong beyond the dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti is the triple temple complex built by an ancestor of Prithviraj Chauhan. The complex also contained the Sanskrit *pathshala* or school founded by the same Chauhan Vignaraja III around 1158 AD. He was an avid litterateur who wrote plays. One of these called *Harakeli Natak* was carved on plates of black stones which are even today displayed in the Rajputana Museum in the Akbar Fort in Ajmer. Also, on exhibition are rows of pretty carvings numbering about a hundred, brought from the complex. Another drama written by a court poet Somadev was similarly found. The sand stone statuettes have survived nearly 900 years except that the faces of all the figures were hacked out systematically. The temple complex also has a long store room which houses more of the many pretty relics. The lesser relics litter the compound as if they are there for anyone to take away.

This mosque, called Adhai Din Ka Jhopra, is a ready object of *shuddhi* or purification to again becoming a temple. Certainly that is what Cunningham²³ implied. In the ASI report written by him in 1864-65, he found it difficult to follow some parts of the plan of the Quwwatul Islam mosque at Delhi, but nearly every part of the plan of the *Ajmer mosque* is still traceable, so that the original design of the architect can be restored without much difficulty. *Externally it is a square of 259 feet each side, with four peculiar star-shaped towers at the corners. There are only two entrances, one to the east and the other to the south, – the north side being built against the scarped rock of the hill. The interior consists of a quadrangle 200 feet by 175 feet, surrounded on all four sides by cloisters of Hindu pillars. The mosque itself, which forms the western side of the quadrangle, is 259 feet long by 57½ feet*



Interior profile of triple temples at Ajmer converted by Qutbuddin Aibak in 60 hours, hence called Adhai Din Ka Jhopra

Photograph: October, 2000



Tall temple pillars at Adhai Din Ka Jhopra, Ajmer

Photograph: October, 2000



Statues found at Adhai Din Ka Jhopra displayed in Rajputana Museum, Akbar Fort, Ajmer

Photograph: October, 2000

broad, including the great screen wall, which is no less than 11½ feet thick and 56 feet high.

The complex is, for the last 800 years, popularly known as “Adhai Din Ka Jhopra” (the shed of two and a half days). So called, because the triple or three temples were converted into a masjid over only two and a half days. After the second battle of Tarain in 1192 AD, in which Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri defeated and killed Prithviraj Chauhan, the victor passed through Ajmer. He was so awed by the temples that he wanted them destroyed and replaced instantly. He asked Qutbuddin Aibak, his slave general, to have the needful done in 60 hours’ time so that he could offer prayers in the new masjid on his way back.

The *Jhopra* is among the first in a series of temple desecrations perpetrated by foreign rulers of India. The earlier atrocities were by Mahmud Ghazni, who raided but did not stay back to rule. The triple temples were so attractive that the desecrator chose to retain all, or most of the pillars. There are 70 of them under three roofs, which meet and appear to be one integrated whole. And there are other pillars beyond the covered edifice, which looks like a pavilion in splendid stone.

The pillars are some 30 feet high gorgeously carved either with exquisite designs up to a height of about 26 feet, thereafter adorned with delicate figurines. Uncannily, there is not a single figure whose face has not been cut off. Nowhere in Europe does one see such acts of vandalism, except what the original barbarian vandals themselves perpetrated under their king Gaiseric, in the wake of the conquest of Rome in 455 AD. Hereafter, the word *vandal* became synonym with wilful desecration and destruction. The figurines on all the relics on display at the Rajputana Museum as well as those salvaged by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) duly locked in the compound of the *Jhopra* have been systematically defaced. Amongst the thousands of stone heads, not a single nose or an eye is visible.

Mind you, the ASI has done nothing to excavate or salvage anything in the complex since independence. With the passing of the Protection of National Monuments Act, 1951 (see Annexure II), all archaeological activities have been frozen. The credit for the excavations goes to Cunningham and Dr. D R Bhandarkar; during the first half of the 20th century by the latter. Details are available in the Rajasthan District Gazetteer,²⁴ Ajmer, 1966.



Calligraphic arches added later to give an Islamic look to Hindu temple

Photograph: October, 2000



Carved figurines near entrance to the Jhopra

Photograph: October, 2000



Tablet of Archaeological Survey at the Adhai Din Ka Jhokra

Photograph: October, 2000

Muhammad Ghauri presumably offered prayers within the stipulated two and a half days. Subsequently in about 1200 AD the Adhai Din Ka Jhopra was completed with a well-carved facade which is best described in the words of the ASI Report²⁵ for 1893: *The whole of the exterior is covered up with a network of tracery so finely and delicately wrought that it can only be compared to a fine lace.* Cunningham described the exterior of the Jhopra even more eloquently: *For gorgeous prodigality of ornament, beautiful richness of tracery, delicate sharpness of finish, laborious accuracy of workmanship, endless variety of detail, all of which are due to the Hindu masons, this building may justly vie with the noblest buildings which the world has yet produced.*

To come back to Hindu sculpture, Mulkraj Anand has said: *This relief in Ajmer Museum is carved of intricately related figures, obviously intended for decorative effect. It rises above mere adornment by the delicate application of the chisel to achieve a composition which is compact and balanced.* But there was no mention of the pathos of defacement and desecration. In fact, there is nothing either compact or balanced about the edifice. The exterior added by Aibak and his successors comprises carvings of the verses from the Holy Quran on a yellow and distinctly softer stone compared to the Hindu edifice behind it. This crudity of effort is overlooked by Mulkraj Anand, presumably as a tribute to his idea of secularism.

Such then was the vandalism with which the sultanate in Delhi began. As with the Quwwatul Islam masjid next to the Qutb Minar, which was also built by Sultan Aibak, so with Adhai Din Ka Jhopra at Ajmer. Both are indelible specimens of humiliation perpetrated by the victor upon the vanquished.

9 Ghazni to Alamgir

Repeated destruction at Mathura

The richly jewelled idols taken from the pagan temples were transferred to Agra and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Nawab Begum Sahib's mosque, in order that they might ever be pressed under foot by the true believers. The city's name was changed to Islamabad. Can you guess the name of this unfortunate place? We can tell you who published those words. He was Vincent A. Smith ICE,²⁶ CIE, the famous historian.

If you cannot guess, it was Mathura, the birth place of Sri Krishna. Most of the idols were from the just destroyed Kesava Deva mandir, built at the spot where the popular *avtaar* was believed to have been born some 3,400 years ago. If Mahmud Ghazni was a *jaahil* or a barbarian, one might have been inclined to overlook his outrage and excuse him. But both Al-Beruni and Utbi, who were chroniclers and lived in Ghazni's times, certified that Mahmud was devout and built beautiful mosques in his Ghazna. For the author it is difficult to do unto others what he would dislike others doing unto him. It is not easy for a conscience to live with double standards. The author is not a regular worshipper and yet he can appreciate what *puja*, prayer or *ibadat* means to others. He would hate to disturb them. So much for sentiment. Beyond that of course is the Hindu in him which tells him that every *karma* leads to *bhagya*, every deed goes to shape destiny. Every action has a reaction, equal and opposite.

This reasoning must have been alien to Mahmud Ghazni in 1017AD, although his forefathers must have been Hindu or Buddhist, or possibly, *pagan* (there was no Islam until the seventh century). Do you think that the misfortunes of the Afghan people, especially since the Soviet invasion in April 1978 are the *bhagya*

resulting from the *karmas* of iconoclasts like Mahmud? He was not the only blood-thirsty invader. There were a series of them from Afghanistan. The last big vandal was Ahmed Shah Abdali of the 18th century. What was perpetrated at Mathura, is unthinkable in any context of civilisation.

You will experience it better when you read what a British Christian had to say. As a Hindu, all that the author will say is that no one is more widely adored amongst us than Sri Krishna. From Jammu in the north to Kanyakumari in the south, from Dwarka in the west to Imphal in the east, there are any number of Krishna worshippers. Moreover, there is no Hindu who would not be an adorer of this son of Mathura. He gave the Bhagawat Gita to us. Even today, every Hindu swears by it before answering in any court, just as Christians and Muslims swear by the Bible and the Quran respectively. If there be any one book from which a Hindu wishes to understand his faith, it is the Gita. In fact, everyone, at least in India, understands what Sri Krishna means to the Hindu psyche. Just as Sri Ram exemplifies the uncompromising idealist, Krishna personifies the comprehensive realist. When a Hindu has a problem, he wonders what Kesava would have done to solve it with his genius for tactics and strategy. If he wishes to celebrate a festival, he thinks of Giridhar Gopal. If he dreams of frolic, he sees Gopinath. If he looks for love, he cannot but help dream of Radheshyam.

In his *Mathura: A District Memoir*, Growse²⁷ has recorded his exhaustive survey and research about Brajbhoomi. He was so overwhelmed by the vandalism that visited the area repeatedly, that he wrote feelingly, although his home was in far away England. To quote: *thanks to Muhammadan intolerance, there is not a single building of any antiquity either in the city itself or its environs. Its most famous temple – that dedicated to Kesava Deva (Krishna) – was destroyed in 1669, the eleventh year of the reign of the iconoclast Aurangzeb (Alamgir was also his name). The mosque (idgah) erected on its ruins is a building of little architectural value.*

Mahmud Ghazni was however the first iconoclast to vandalise Mathura. That was in 1017 AD about which Growse wrote: *If any one wished to construct a building equal to it, he would not be able to do so without expending a hundred million dinars, and the work would occupy two hundred years, even though the most able and experienced workmen were employed. Orders were given that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground. The city was given up to plunder for twenty days. Among the spoils are said to have been five great idols of pure gold with eyes of rubies and adornments of other precious stones, together with a vast number of smaller silver images, which, when broken*



Back view of Idgah built in place of Keshava Dev mandir desecrated by Aurangzeb at Mathura

Photograph: By local studio

up, formed a load for more than a hundred camels. The total value of the spoils has been estimated at three millions of rupees; while the number of Hindus carried away into captivity exceeded 5,000.

Today Balkrishna is worshipped in a little room which appears like a servant quarter attached to the back of the *idgah*. Pathos can be experienced by any visitor, whether a devotee or otherwise.

To go back to Aurangzeb, over two centuries after the desecration, Growse felt that: *of all the sacred places in India, none enjoys a greater popularity than the capital of Braj, the holy city of Mathura. For nine months in the year, festival follows upon festival in rapid succession and the ghats and temples are daily thronged with new troops of way-worn pilgrims. So great is the sanctity of the spot that its panegyrists do not hesitate to declare that a single day spent at Mathura is more meritorious than a lifetime passed at Benares. All this celebrity is due to the fact of it being the birthplace of the demi-god Krishna.*

In his chapter entitled *The Braj Mandal, the Ban Yatra and the Holi* as Growse²⁸ puts it: *Not only the city of Mathura, but with it, the whole of the western half of the district has a special interest of its own as the birthplace and abiding home of Vaishnava Hinduism. It is about 42 miles in length with an average breadth of 30 miles and is intersected throughout by the river Jamuna. In the neighbourhood is Gokul and Brindaban, where the divine brothers Krishna and Balaram grazed their herds. He continues: Almost every spot is traditionally connected with some event in the life of Krishna or of his mythical mistress Radha.*

To paraphrase William Shakespeare, not all the scents of Arabia would suffice to wash away the sins of Ghazni and Alamgir at Mathura. And since it is not possible to claim back what was destroyed long ago, the return of the *Idgah* and the *shuddhi* of Krishna *janmabhoomi* or the birth place of Krishna, is the *only alternative*.



Another view of the Idgah built by Aurangzeb at Mathura

Photograph: By local studio

10 Christian Tears

An evangelist's heart went out to Benares

The Europeans should clearly understand that this spirit of Mohammedanism is unchangeable, and that, if by any mischance, India should again come into the possession of men of this creed, all the churches and colleges and all the Mission institutions, would not be worth a week's purchase. So wrote Reverend Mathew Atmore Sherring.²⁹ The Muslims had done no harm to the Christians of British India. But he was so upset at the vandalism he saw in Benares that he could not help speaking out.

Reverend Sherring was a devout, and maybe a slightly bigoted evangelist member of the London Missionary Society. He was dead against idol worship. As he has written *idolatry is a word denoting all that is wicked in imagination and impure in practice. Idolatry is a demon – an incarnation of all evil. And yet he said it would not be difficult, I believe, to find twenty temples in all Benares of the age of Aurangzeb, or from 1658 to 1707. The same unequal proportion of old temples, as compared with new, is visible throughout the whole of northern India.* His description of the desecration of temples by the thousand, and their blatant conversion into either mosques, mausoleums, *dargahs*, palaces or pleasure houses has to be seen to be believed.

In his view, if there is one circumstance respecting the Mohammedan period which Hindus remember better than another, it is the insulting pride of the Muslims (sic), the outrages which they perpetrated upon their religious convictions, and the extensive spoilation of their temples and shrines. When we endeavour to ascertain what the Mohammedans have left to the Hindus of their ancient buildings in Benares, we are startled at the result of our investigations. Although the city is bestrewn with temples, it is unlikely that there are many which are old.

Reverend Sherring continued, *the diminutive size of nearly all the temples in India except for the south that exist is another powerful testimony to the stringency of the Mohammedan rule. It seems clear, that, for the most part, the emperors forbade the Hindus to build spacious temples, and suffered them to erect only small structures, of the size of cages, for their idols, and these of no pretensions to beauty. The consequence is, that the Hindus of the present day, blindly following the example of their predecessors of two centuries ago, commonly build their religious edifices of the same dwarfish size as formerly.* These observations speak volumes for the trauma that the Hindu psyche has suffered as a result of the impact of Islam.

Sherring appreciates that Muslims yearn to visit Mecca and the Christians desire to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem but the Hindu heart goes out to Benares. If the Hindus refer to any one city as their holiest, it is Benares. Yet, Aurangzeb thought it fit to change its name to Muhammadabad. The temple of Bisheswar, who was regarded as king of all the Hindu gods, was systematically demolished by Aurangzeb during the 17th century. The large collection of deities stored on a platform called the court of Mahadev on the northern side of the temple, were found from the debris. As recorded by Sherring, extensive remains of this ancient temple are still visible and they form a large portion of the western wall of the mosque which was built upon its site by the bigoted oppressor. Evidently, the former temple was much larger than the present one, which is really small for so important a shrine. But there was a reason for it.

The new temple was built at the behest of Rani Ahilyabai Holkar long after Aurangzeb's desecration. As already explained by Sherring, all the temples built during the Mohammedan rule in Benares had to be diminutive in size. It transpires that the demolition of temples was not inspired merely by a hatred for idolatry or by greed for loot. It was also driven by a desire to humiliate the Hindus. Or, else, how does one explain that the masjid built by Aurangzeb had to be bang next to the *Gyan Vapi* or the well of knowledge.

Incidentally, Sherring has also referred to Al-Beruni who is one of the important sources of Indian history: He came to India with Mahmud Ghazni. Although the Reverend doubts Al-Beruni's contention, nevertheless, he mentions that Ghazni reached as far as Benares during his ninth incursion into India. In 1194 AD, Shahabuddin, better known as Muhammad Ghauri, after defeating the Kannaujian monarch, Jaichand, marched to Benares where he is reported to have destroyed a thousand Hindu temples.

The author came across this interesting book on Benares by an extraordinary circumstance. The last time he went to the holy city, he happened to be accompanied by a dyed-in-the-wool Marxist, Sudhansu Chaki, who was at the Presidency College, Kolkata, with him during 1956. Over the years, he had told the author that he was an atheist. If he had a God, it was Karl Marx. No one else. About half an hour after both of us had reached the Kashi Vishwanath temple, the author found his friend's eyes full of tears. When the author asked him why, he said he had not imagined the extent to which the land of his forefathers had been vandalised. He was referring to the *Gyan Vapi* masjid. Some months after he returned to Kolkata he sent the author the volume!

11 Ataladevi Masjid

In 1403 AD Ibrahim Naib Barbak ordered all Hindus to quit the city so that only Muslims could live there

*During the period of Government of Sultan Ibrahim, the Hindus were prohibited from openly worshipping idols, sounding naks, and leaving their houses in the rainy season for the purpose of burning their dead on the banks of the river near the city. He also levied a tax on them, and at length, in the year of the Hijri 806 or AD 1403-04 ordered them to leave Jaunpur, and to take up their residence in its vicinity. Their houses were given to the professors of the faith, and the Hindus, being without friend or assistant, were obliged to abandon their homes and to reside in the circumjacent villages. This is quoted from Khair-ud-din's *History of Jaunpur* translated by Pogson and reported by Cunningham.³⁰*

The reason for Cunningham's referring to the holy city of Mecca was to stress his conviction that the Muhammadans did their work of destruction with unusual completeness. Now, there is no trace whatsoever of any old Hindu temple standing. As is well known, the holy city has no place of worship other than mosques. Nor are any non-Muslims allowed to enter Mecca.

Khair-ud-din, in his *History of Jaunpur*, observed that the *Sultan then gave an order for the destruction of the Dewal (temple) Atala, the Dewal of Bijay Mandal and the Dewal of Chachakpur... He also commended mosques should be built on their foundations.* He continued that Bijay Mandal be converted into Khalis-Mukhlis and Chachakpur into *Jhanjhari* (chain like) masjid.

The Gazetteer of Jaunpur district dated 1908, written by H.R. Nevill,³¹ the district collector of Jaunpur, confirms that the temple was demolished by Ibrahim Naib Barbak, the brother of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq who erected the *Jhanjhari* masjid in honour of a saint called Hazrat Ajmali. Not far from *Jhanjhari* is what is



Frontage of Ataladevi masjid at Jaunpur

Photograph: November, 2000



Temple colonnade in Ataladevi with dome added later

Photograph: November 2000



Inside Ataladevi masjid, a pillar with stone brackets between which there was a statue, since destroyed

Photograph: November, 2000



Profile of Char Ungli or Khalis-Mukhlis masjid, Jaunpur, originally a temple of Bijay Mandal

Photograph: November 2000



Jhanjri masjid, Jaunpur, originally Chachakpur temple

Photograph: November, 2000

popularly known as the Atala Devi masjid. On two sides, in front of this rectangular edifice, are rows of two-storeyed cloisters. Opposite the mosque is also a similar cloister, which now houses a *madarsa*. According to the gazetteer, there stood an equally large temple built by Raja Vijaya Chandra of Kannauj, the father of Jai-chand.

The temple was demolished by Khwaja Kamal Khan in 1364 AD and the mosque was completed by Ibrahim in 1408 AD. Several dates were inscribed on the pillars which, incidentally, are the same as those that belonged to the temple. The cloisters on all the three sides with an 174 square feet courtyard in the middle, belonged to the temple. Nevill has quoted Cunningham.

Yet another temple turned mosque is the *Char Ungli*, four fingers or Khalis-Mukhlis masjid. On the left of its main gate is the space for a small stone wherein exactly fit the four fingers of any hand, whether that of a child or a grown-up. It was believed to have miraculous powers whereby wishes can be fulfilled and curses come true. The original stone is missing and the space has been filled by a substitute.

Mukhlis and Khalis were in turn governors of Jaunpur under Ibrahim Naib Barbak, who was anxious to build an edifice for the residence of a celebrated saint named Saiyid Usman of Shiraz, who had fled from Delhi during Timur's invasion. In 1908, when the gazetteer was published by Nevill, the descendants of the saint still resided near the mosque. The style of architecture is not very different from that of the *Jhanjhari* masjid. The roof stands on ten rows of Hindu temple pillars. According to the gazetteer, the mandir had been built by Raja Vijaya Chandra.

The river Gomti flows through the city of Jaunpur and there is an impressive bridge across the river. It is a massive stone structure built in the 1560s. The bridge does not rise towards its centre but is flat. It is an original construction. The only feature that mars its originality is a colossal stone lion standing over a small elephant. According to Nevill, it bears the stamp of ancient Hindu workmanship and must have adorned the gateway of some building erected by the Raja of Kannauj.

To the west of the northern end of the bridge is the big fort of Jaunpur, built in the time of Ibrahim. But Firoz Shah Tughlaq is credited with having rebuilt the fortress on an old structure inherited from the Hindu era. Evidence of the legacy is the masjid inside the fort, built on temple pillars of various shapes and designs. Nevill has remarked that some of the pillars are upside down which supports the theory

that a number of temples in Jaunpur were destroyed in order to provide stones required to build the fort; the inner face of almost every stone bore carvings, which had decorated Hindu temples.

The author's visit to Jaunpur turned out to be a tragi-comedy of errors. He went to see the temple built by Jaichand and, instead, came back after seeing the iconoclastic exploits of Ibrahim Naib Barbak and Firoz Shah Tughlaq. He wondered what could have motivated medieval rulers to perform such acts of vandalism? His dismay deepened when he read the gazetteer written by an English Christian namely Nevill. He lamented that *the work of demolition was so complete that hardly a vestige remains of this early epoch; but it is clear that Jaunpur must have been a place of considerable size, at any rate in the days of the last Hindu kings of Kannauj.*

12 Four Vandals, One Temple

*Vidisha was desecrated in turn by Iltutmish,
Alauddin Khilji, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat
and Aurangzeb*

One night during the monsoon of 1991, the rain was so heavy that it washed away the wall that was concealing the frontage of the Bijamandal mosque established by Aurangzeb in 1682. This masjid is a centre of attraction in the district town of Vidisha situated some 40 kms from Bhopal. The broken wall exposed so many Hindu idols that the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) was left with no choice but to excavate. For three centuries, the idols were buried under the platform, on the northern side, which was used as the hall of prayer conducted specially on days of *Eid*. Fortunately, the district collector in 1991 happened to offer protection to the surveyors of ASI, who were otherwise reluctant to expose themselves to the wrath of bigots.

Rich treasures of sculpture were thus salvaged. Some of the statues were particularly splendid; some were as high as eight feet. The work of the archaeologists, however, did not last long. The ASI soon received instructions to stop further work. The officer of the ASI working on the excavations was transferred, as was the collector. Whether this had anything to do with the new Human Resource Development Minister, Arjun Singh, 1991–94, who happened to be the leader of the self-styled secular lobby in Madhya Pradesh, is not known. Since then, the Bijamandal mosque is marking time with a great deal of sculpture hidden under its southern side.

Cunningham³² had personally visited Malwa during 1874 AD as well as 1876 AD. This is what he had to write in Volume X of the ASI Report: *Inside the town there is a stone masjid called Bijay Mandir, or the temple of Bijay. This Hindu*

name is said to have been derived from the founder of the original temple, Bijay Rani. The temple was thrown down by the order of Aurangzeb, and the present masjid erected in its place; but the Hindus still frequent it at the time of the annual fair. By the Muhammadans it is called the Alamgiri masjid, while Bhilsa (earlier name of Vidisha) itself is called Alamgirpur. The building is 78½ feet long by 26½ feet broad, and the roof is supported on four rows of plain square pillars with 13 openings to the front.

Aurangzeb, 1658–1707, was the last of the iconoclasts who had a go at this edifice which was then known as the Vijay Mandir from which the successor mosque was known as Bijamandal. He celebrated the visit by renaming Vidisha as Alamgirpur. Despite some excavations between 1971 and 1974 which clearly showed that Bijamandal was originally a temple, *namaz* at *Eid* time continued right until 1965 when Dr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra's government banned worship in, what was, a protected monument. Mishra earned the gratitude of most Vidishans and many others in Madhya Pradesh.

Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, 1526–37, was the iconoclast of Vidisha, preceding Aurangzeb. He captured the town and about the first thing he did was to desecrate the Vijay Mandir claiming that the conquest of Bhilsa was in the service of Islam. The episode is recorded in *Mirat-I-Sikandri*. About 200 years earlier, Sultan Alauddin Khilji, 1293, had also enjoyed the 'devout' pleasure of damaging Vijay Mandir. The honour of being the first iconoclast, however, went to Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, 1234, yet another half a century earlier. This episode is described with relish in *Tabqat-I-Nasiri*.

Not many temples have had the misfortune of having been desecrated four times. Being a huge structure, built in solid stone, it was able to survive and be resituated as a mandir, three times. The ASI has still to undo the damage perpetrated by Aurangzeb. Excavation work which stopped some nine years ago is yet to be resumed. Admittedly, it is difficult to redeem the pristine glory of Vijay Mandir, whose scale and dimensions are reminiscent of the Konark temple. Nevertheless, it would be a shame, if *independent* India allows its architectural treasures to remain in a state of desecration and remain buried without an attempt to even redeem them.

It is all the more unfortunate that the ASI is not being allowed to work on the site despite pressure from local citizens. No other temple turned mosque has witnessed more repeated agitations and *satyagraha*, than Vijay Mandir. The citizens



The interior of the Bijamandal mosque, Vidisha, which was a splendid temple desecrated four times by four Badshahs

Photograph: April, 2000



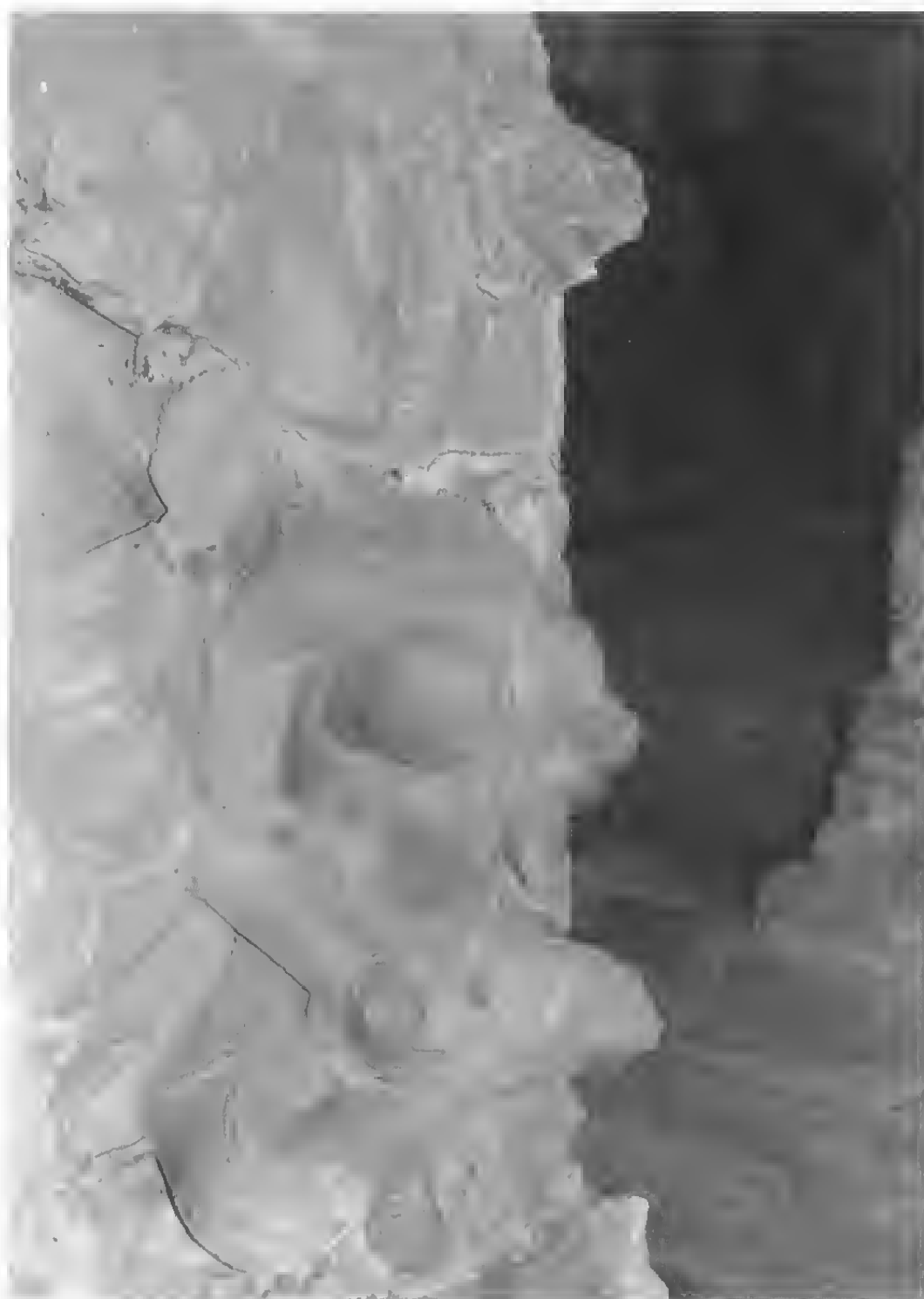
Three defaced statues inside the Bijamandal temple

Photograph: April, 2000



The Bijamandal mosque, Vidisha, seen from the western side

Photograph: April, 2000



A beheaded statue in Bijamandal temple

Photograph: April, 2000

of Vidisha relate, how year after year, at *Eid* time they used to offer *satyagraha* and get arrested. Leaders who agitated even 50 years ago, are still alive to narrate the saga of their efforts.

Octogenarian Niranjan Verma, a former parliamentarian, remembers how Jawaharlal Nehru found some reason or the other not to meet the delegations led by him. Eventually, he diverted Verma to see Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who could not spare the time to visit Vidisha but deputed Prof Humayun Kabir, the then Education Secretary. The professor was impartial, and immediately conceded in the presence of many a local citizen that it was indeed a temple. However, at this late stage, since the matter would take on political hues, as a bureaucrat, he could do little.

Verma and his supporters also approached Dr Kailash Nath Katju when he became Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. The reply they got was that Verma and his men should first persuade the Congressmen of Vidisha into agreeing that the Chief Minister could intervene in Bijamandal. Not long after that, the delegation met the then Chief Minister Mandloi who, incidentally, was sympathetic. His only problem was the fear of Nehru's wrath, which he candidly admitted. As already mentioned, Mishra did bring a halt to *namaz* being conducted in the edifice. His government donated Rs.40,000 for the construction of a separate *idgaah* nearby. By then Jawaharlal Nehru had been succeeded by the not antipathic Lal Bahadur Shastri.

A visit to Vidisha and interaction with the man in the street, would reflect that there is a lingering, although suppressed, but bitter resentment against the government treatment of what they believe to be their dearest treasure, architectural as well as sentimental. The moral of a pilgrimage to Vidisha is that no purpose would be served by *hushing up* what is naked history.

13 *Bhojshala Masjid*

Entry has been banned except once a year for the Hindus and 52 times for the Muslims

The author's wife Nayana³³ spent seven years writing her PhD thesis on Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India between 1899 and 1905. In many ways, Curzon was the father of archaeology in India. He had gone to the extent of extending a special grant to the princely ruler of Mandu, whose estate could not afford to pay for the restoration of the famous fortress. In March 2001, the author happened to visit Indore, and was happy to spare a day to go and see Mandu, the legendary capital of Malwa founded by the dynasty of Raja Bhoj. On the way is situated the historic town of Dhar.

The author's colleagues and he were taken aback when several men of the Central Reserve Police in *mufti* stopped them from entering the famous *Bhojshala*. They said that normal entry to this temple school founded by Raja Bhoj was prohibited. On persuasive questioning, one of the policemen told us, that if we were Muslim, we could go in for *two hours on any Friday*. On the other hand, Hindus were allowed entry *only once a year*, on *Vasant Panchami* or the day of Saraswati, the goddess of learning. If we belonged to any other faith, entry was regretted.

No amount of coaxing was sufficient to make the policemen change their minds and allow us even a five minute walk through this historic temple school. We then realised why the compound had been barricaded although the neighbouring masjid named after Kamal Maula was functioning. So was a nearby *dargaah* and a few shops selling trinkets for rituals.

This blatantly discriminatory order was issued by the Digvijay Singh government in 1997 when reports said that there was Hindu-Muslim tension in the area.

The excuse given was that the Bhojshala was, in any case, a protected monument and barricading it would be the best way to secure its protection. Incidentally, there was no threat from anyone either damaging or demolishing the structure.

The discriminatory order of entry 52 times a year to one community, and only once a year to another and none to the rest is based on an extraordinary precedent.

The author understands that in 1935 on the insistence by some local residents of Dhar, which was then a princely state, that the Bhojshala was a Hindu institution—the temple of Goddess Saraswati, on the one hand, and a school, on the other. A photograph of the deity's image which adorned the temple is reproduced in this book. The idol is still on display in the British Museum in London. A part of the Sanskrit inscription which is engraved on a wall of the Bhojshala is also reproduced. It is called *Dhar Prasasti of Arjunavarma: Parijatamanjari-natika* by Madana.

On the strength of their conviction, the local residents demanded that the Bhojshala masjid be reconverted into a mandir. Although the Maharaja of Dhar was a Hindu, he was under the influence of the British Resident, who was reported to have advised him to ban entry into the edifice for a while. The Maharaja therefore did as advised, except for allowing Hindus to enter on Vasant Panchami day which is the day of Saraswati puja. Similarly, the Muslims were allowed entry on one day in the year. This precedent was twisted by the Digvijay Singh government into a discriminatory order mentioned earlier. Such are the wages of secularism in our country.

It is best to quote the letter dated May 1, 1952 issued by the Collector of Dhar district of the then Madhya Bharat state which later became a part of Madhya Pradesh: *I am directed to request you kindly to inform the Hindu Maha Sabha that the building called Bhoj shala situated at Dhar cannot be given to either the Hindu or the Muslim communities for conversion into a temple or a fullfledged mosque and that this being an archaeological monument the right of entry to it would be conceded to all sections of people for purpose of sight seeing. The Muslim community may also be kindly informed, if necessary, that while the Muslims may continue to say their Friday prayers in the building, no effects must be kept there and nobody should use any part of it for residence. The Dhar State Huzur Durbar office file year 1935-36.*

Bhojshala was a college. The District Gazetteer says that Raja Bhoj school is a mosque, a part of which was converted from a Hindu institution of the 11th cen-

tury, the Saraswati temple or school. According to the publication, this shrine of Saraswati, the Hindu goddess of learning, is described in the Sanskrit play of Arjunavarman Paramara, 1210–16 as the ornament of the eightyfour squares of Dharanagari. Two slabs were discovered behind the *mehrab*, one bearing the *Prakrit* odes of the 11th century (supposed to have been composed by Raja Bhoj himself) and the other the Sanskrit play mentioned above, which praises Arjunavarman. These slabs stand on the north side of the building and are beautiful specimens of the stone cutter's work.

The Department of Archaeology, Gwalior, 1952, has in a special book dealt on the *Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, which, in 1956, amalgamated with the Central Provinces and came to be known as Madhya Pradesh. This book *Dhar and Mandu* reiterates what Major C.E. Luard,³⁴ the official gazeteer of Dhar, had said in 1912. The carved pillars used all over the building and the delicately carved ceilings of the prayer hall seem to have belonged to the original Bhojshala. On the pavement of the prayer hall are seen numerous slabs of black slate stone the writings on which were also scraped off. From a few slabs recovered from another part of the building and now exhibited there, which contain the texts of the poetic works of Parijatamanjari and Kurmastotra, it appears that the old college was adorned with numerous Sanskrit and Maharashtri *Prakrit* texts, beautifully engraved on such slabs.

The other well known monument in Dhar is the Lat masjid named after a square metal pillar whose total height must have been about 41 feet and which is preserved in three pieces of 7, 11 and 23 feet in a small compound next to the mosque. There is no rust anywhere which is an indication that it may be made of metal not different from the iron pillar near Qutb Minar.

According to Luard,³⁵ the inscriptions on the eastern and northern gates indicate that the mosque was inaugurated by Amid Shah Daud Ghorī, also known as Dilawar Khan, on January 17, 1405. The word "inaugurated" has been intentionally used, instead of Luard's use of "erected" because, evidently, the edifice is a mandir converted into a masjid. Incidentally, Emperor Jehangir called it Jami masjid.

The Lat masjid has no minarets nor the traditional *hauz* in which the devotee can wash his hands and feet before performing *namaz*. It is a large rectangular pavilion with a great deal of open space in the centre. The four sided pavilion originally stood on some 300 square shaped stone pillars. On conversion by Dilawar Khan, the spaces between the outermost row of pillars were evidently filled with a wall



Author and colleagues prevented from entering Bhojshala

Photograph: March, 2001



Entrance to Bhojshala mandir, Dhar, turned into a mosque with a dargah on the right

Photograph: March, 2001



Statue of Goddess Saraswati taken from Bhojshala for display at British Museum, London



Sanctum Sanctorum of former temple inside Lat masjid

Photograph: March, 2001



Interior of Lat masjid, Dhar with its temple pillars

Photograph: March, 2001



Profile of a Hindu statue on a pillar in Lat masjid, Dhar

Photograph: March, 2001



Temple pillars inside Lat masjid

Photograph: March, 2001

somewhat thinner than the pillars. The entire scene is reminiscent of a temple rather than a mosque. However, such a feeling is not evidence enough of conversion by Dilawar Khan. Any number of pillars, however, on the eastern or the end opposite to where the *mehrab* and the *mimbar* are, have at their lower end, defaced carvings of *murtis* reminiscent of Vishnu. Every effort has been made on most such pillars to erase the statuettes but the outline of the *murti* is clearly seen. For example, the pillar at the corner of the eastern and the northern end has two statuettes on two faces of the pillar. Similarly, on the next pillar. Then coming to the south-eastern corner, every pillar bears Vishnu's image outline. All this shows that the Lat masjid is a blatant case of conversion from a mandir. It is not like several thousand mosques which were built with stones and statues, taken from demolished mandirs.

To return to Luard, the *lat* was a *jayastambha* or a pillar of victory of Raja Bhoj in 1042 AD over the joint forces of Gangyadeva and Jayasinha, the rulers of Telingana. This battle is reputed to have been the source of the proverb *kahan Raja Bhoj our kahan Gangli Teli*. Although Ganga or Gangli Teli was a capable oil crusher of Dhar, she had sided with her brethren from Telingana.

The masjids being near the centre of Dhar, we were able to talk to several local residents who were not only pained at the prohibitory orders for Bhojshala, but also made repeated references to the Lat masjid. The central thrust of their complaint was that most of them could not afford to travel to distant places of pilgrimage. For them, therefore, Bhojshala represents about the only holy place within their reach. If access to that also is denied, were they expected to become Muslims, so that they could go in every Friday?

There is, as it were, a 364 day ban on the entry of Hindus to what is essentially a Hindu heritage and continues to be called Saraswati mandir. Even the Muslims call it Bhojshala masjid and show little interest in worshipping at this converted temple. Why should Bhojshala be inaccessible to the community to *which it belongs?*

14 Seven Temples Kept Buried

An example of Muslim appeasement

Had the two constables of the Reserve Police not been asleep on June 29, 2000, the author would have been denied the privilege of seeing an archaeological treasure of his homeland. For about 20 minutes, he was able to walk around the Rudramahalaya complex at Siddhpur in the Mehsana district of Gujarat. He was also able to take a minute off to have darshan of a Shivling in the premises. He could not go much further because one of the constables woke up and politely told him to leave the precincts as he had strict instructions from the government not to allow anyone to enter the Rudramahalaya.

Siddhpur is to departed mothers what Gaya is for dead fathers. In fact, it is called Matrigaya where a Hindu could offer *shraddh* to the soul of his mother. Hindu *sarovar* is where the ceremony is performed. Equally dear is Siddhpur, especially to Gujaratis, as the city is named after Gujarat's famous monarch who ruled in premedieval times. After he attained *siddhi* or success as the most powerful king of north-west India, if not the whole subcontinent, he attained the title of Siddhraj. His name was Jaisinh Solanki (1094 to 1143 AD).

On the intervention of the National Minorities Commission in 1983, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) has been prevented from carrying on any excavations in or around the Rudramahalaya complex where once existed the tallest temple in Gujarat. From its top could be seen glimpses of Patan, the capital of the ancient kings of Gujarat, some 25 kms away. From the top it is believed were also visible some temple *mashaals* in Ahmedabad when the capital was shifted there by Ahmed Shah in the 15th century. That is 112 kms away.

Even today, the ruins demonstrate the finery of the sculpture. Human faces have been mutilated. The tablet displayed at the spot by the ASI says the following: *This is the grandest and the most impressive conception of a temple dedicated to Siva associated with Siddharaj who ruled in the 12th century AD though tradition accords its construction to Mularaj during the 10th century AD.*

The Jami Masjid (mentioned in the blurb) is a modest affair. Its gate is so small that not more than two persons can enter at the same time. On its top are two minarets less than three feet tall. As one crossed the gate, there are four small temple sancti, one on the left and three on the right. It is clear that the sancti had been walled up and converted into a *mebraab* for the prayer space; Beyond this is the square tank from ancient times which was also used by those who came for *ibadat*. Beyond, stand a few handsome pillars and carvings that have survived from ancient times.

According to a neighbour, no prayers take place except for the odd Hindu dropping in for *darshan* of the only surviving Shivling in one of the four sancti. The brick walls of the other three sancti have also been removed although there are only platforms now without the idols.

The National Minorities Commission has influenced governments, both at Delhi and at Gandhinagar into freezing the excavation work that was begun by the ASI in 1979. The details are available across 38 pages in the commission's Fourth Annual Report dated 1983. Improvement of the environments of the *masjid* was first conceived in 1959 in response to a complaint repeatedly made by the local Muslims that the ASI had been neglecting the repair and upkeep of the masjid. Yet, after 1983, the commission has not only ensured that the work was frozen but also that all the excavations made should be covered up. And this has been done despite what came out. The author was able to see a stone Nandi bull in a mutilated condition. The rest of the relics were covered up.

According to the report, Begum Ayesha, MLA, played a leading part in the cover up operation. K.T. Satarawala, the then Adviser to the Governor of Gujarat, also played a yeoman's role by providing a detailed report on the subject. That Muslim appellants were able to push the ASI, is best quoted from the Fourth Annual Report itself.

A.S. Quereshi, advocate, for the (Muslim) Trustees, issued a notice dated February 6, 1980 to the Superintendent, Archaeological Department, asking the depart-

ment to build compound walls as per the compromise and to cover up the temple remains. The superintendent explained in person the importance of the discoveries made and the need for revision of the compromise in the interests of preserving the precious cultural heritage of the country.

As Mr Quereshi wanted to visit the site along with the Superintendent, Archaeological Department, he went to Siddhpur on March 8, 1980. At first, he agreed to the preservation but later he insisted on getting the trenches closed in his presence that day. The superintendent ordered closure of the trenches and construction of the compound wall and both the works were started in his presence.

Should the work of the ASI be allowed to be halted by the intervention of the Minorities Commission? Should a commission work at the behest of narrow local vested interests? Or, should not the government rein in the commission from undertaking such obstructionist activity? If there is legitimacy in such activity, would it not be logical that the ASI be wound up? Which, of course, would imply that we have lost interest in the search for our civilisational heritage.

15 *Adina Masjid*

Shiv mandir desecrated

In his many years in Kolkata, the author never heard any mention of iconoclastic attacks in Bengal. The area was therefore not on his mind, when looking for temples which had been converted into mosques. Yet recently to his utter surprise, a livewire Bengali young man told him that he had been to the Adina mosque in Pandua, 18km north of Malda. At the first opportunity thereafter, the author visited the spot duly equipped with a camera.

The Adina or Friday mosque is situated on National Highway No.34 between Raiganj in West Dinajpur district of West Bengal and Malda. At first glimpse, the dual colour of the edifice walls strikes the visitor. The first ten feet immediately above the ground are grey in colour because of stone tiles. The upper 12 feet comprise of red brick work. Evidently, the current mosque was superimposed on an earlier building.

Hardly had one walked a few steps after entering the main gate, when one noticed, on the wall outside, distinct remnants of Hindu deities. They are carved on solid stone which on the outside mingles quite naturally with the tile work of the same stone. One stone slab displays Ganesh by the side of his consort. There are several others including the crests of doorways at the entrance of the northern as well as the eastern face. Inside the mosque, the stone work is equally convincing that the original building was a temple.

There are some 20 alcoves in the northern wall. They all give the impression of temple carvings. If there be any doubt, it is set at rest by what was used as *mimbar* or the pulpit for the *Imam*. The face of the last step is covered with carvings of two



Southern face of Adina mosque, Pandua, Malda district, West Bengal

Photograph: February, 2001

female figures which, of course, have been defaced but are still unmistakably human statuettes.

The author's visit to the Adina mosque was in February, 2001. Passage of time must have taken its toll on the condition of the Adina mosque. Moreover, the author's lay eyes are unlikely to have captured what experts had seen earlier. Amongst them, who better than Cunningham?³⁷ Let us see what he had to say after his visit during 1879-80, in his report entitled *A Tour in Bihar and Bengal Volume XV*:

The steps leading up to the pulpit have fallen down, and, on turning over one of the steps I found a line of Hindu sculpture of very fine and bold execution. This stone is 4 feet in length, and apparently formed part of a frieze. The main ornament is a line of circular panels 7¼ inches in diameter, formed by continuous intersecting lotus stalks. There are five complete panels, and two half-panels which have been cut through. These two contain portions of an elephant and a rhinoceros. In the complete panels there are (1) a cow and calf; (2) human figures broken; (3) a goose; (4) a man and woman, and a crocodile; (5) two elephants. The carving is deep, and the whole has been polished. In the niche itself, the two side pillars which support the cusped arch are also pickings from Hindu temples.

Some years later in 1888, a civil engineer of ASI in Bengal, Joseph Daviditch Milik Beglaroff,³⁸ surveyed the Adina mosque. This is what he had to say in his official report entitled *Archaeological Survey of Bengal, Part II*:

The West wall of the Masjid it will be seen, barely leaves room for these. A further circumstance which may and possibly did determine, the position of the West wall of the Masjid, is, that in all probability, the sanctum of the temple, judging from the remnants of heavy pedestals of statues, now built into the pulpit, and the superb canopied trefoils, now doing duty as prayer niches, stood where the main prayer niche now stands; nothing would probably so tickle the fancy of a bigot, as the power of placing the sanctum of his orthodox cult, (in this case the main prayer niche) on the spot, where the hated infidel had his sanctum; and utilising to the honor of his own religion, the very canopies of the idolatrous statues; for there is no doubt whatever, in my mind, comparing these trefoils with the recently discovered similar trefoils at Kylas over figures of Parvati, (see report Part I of last year) that these trefoils are really the canopies over the statues originally enshrined here.



Ganesh and consort dancing on the southern wall of Adina mosque, Pandua

Photograph: February, 2001



Frescoe of Ganesh on the crest of a door of Adina mosque, Pandua

Photograph: February, 2001



A statuette on a doorway of Adina mosque, Pandua

Photograph: February, 2001

There is a local legend to the effect that the Adina mosque was built by Sultan Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah. His original name was Jadu who, at the age of 12, had been made to convert to Islam by his father, Raja Ganesh. Subsequently, the Raja regretted his action and had a *swarnadhenu yagna* ceremony associated with a golden cow. Jadu alias Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah, however, refused to abandon Islam. Thereafter Hindu courtiers tried to put Mahendra Dev, Jadu's brother, on the throne. This apparently enraged Jalaluddin so much that he turned into an iconoclast who not only destroyed idols and temples but also forced many Hindus to embrace Islam.

This legend, however, in no way explains as to why a Muslim should proudly include stones with carvings of Hindu deities on them when building a mosque? When the rubble of temples was used for building a masjid, the stones with carvings were turned inwards so that they could not be seen. It does not make sense that the Muslim builder would go out of his way to display Hindu figures on the outside, whether on a wall or as crests on doorways or below a *mimbar*. Which all goes to prove that the Adina mosque is a masjid superimposed on a desecrated temple and is an ideal object of *shuddhi*.

On return to Delhi, the author looked for literature on the Adina mosque. There has obviously been a fair amount of work done on this place of worship. Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua by M. Abid Ali Khan³⁹ subsequently revised by H.E. Stapleton.⁴⁰ A more recent work of scholarship is entitled *Mosque Architecture of Pre-Mughal Bengal* by Dr Syed Mahmudul Hasan.

Evidently, local legend as to who built the Adina mosque and why, appears to be incorrect. According to scholars, it was established by Sultan Sikandar Shah between 1366 and 1374AD. There is a difference of opinion especially between J.H. Ravenshaw and other scholars as to whether Gaur, the famous capital of medieval Bengal was older or whether Hazrat Pandua, where Adina is located, flourished earlier.

The significance of the controversy is about how much rubble from pre-Islamic edifices could have been used. Dr Hasan is impartial enough to quote various scholars at length, although he betrays some unhappiness at the allegation about use of Hindu material. For example, he says Ilahi Bakhsh, Creighton, Ravenshaw, Buchanan-Hamilton, Westmacott, Beglar, Cunningham, King, and a host of other historians and archaeologists offer glowing testimony to the utilisation of non-Muslim materials, but none of them ventured to say that existing temples were

dismantled and materials provided for the construction of magnificent monuments in Gaur and Hazrat Pandua. He accuses E.G.Havell of being so intolerant as not to give any credit to the Muslim builders for the use of radiating arches, domes, minarets and delicate relief works.

Havell maintained that the central *mehrab* of the Adina masjid at Hazrat Pandua is so obviously Hindu in design, as to hardly require any comment. *The image of Vishnu or Surya has trefoil arched canopy, symbolizing the aura of the god, of exactly the same type as the outer arch of the mihrab, Beglar says that the Muslims delighted in placing the sanctum of his orthodox cult (in this case the main prayer niche) on the spot, where hated infidel had his sanctum.* S.K. Saraswati⁴¹ is also emphatic about the Hindu origin of the mosque. He has not been quoted as he was a Hindu and therefore could have been biased. In this context, Muslim, Christian or British scholars would appear to lend greater credence.

The credit for starting the controversy over the Adina, however, goes to Munshi Ilahi Bakhsh of Malda. He wrote that it is worth observing that in front of the *chaukath* or lintel of the Adina masjid, there was a broken and polished idol, and that there were other idols lying about. So it appears that, in fact, this mosque was originally a temple adorned with idols.

16 *Jungle Pirbaba*

Mazaar was a mandir

A holy man once asked a boatman to ferry him across the river Rajpoa in what is now the Howrah district of West Bengal. Since the holy man did not have any money, he promised to pay for the voyage by giving one of his goats, of which he had many. On reaching his destination, the holy man handed over a goat to the boatman who, instead of saying thanks, ran away as if to save his life. The goat had turned into a tiger. Evidently, the holy man had supernatural powers.

Local legend has it that officials of the Maharajah of Burdwan, while on an inspection tour, found the holy man living in a temple. They wondered why a Muslim saint should occupy a Hindu mandir. He treated the question as a challenge and asked for a personal interview with the Maharajah. On meeting the holy man in his palace, the prince certainly did not run away but was greatly awed by the sight of goats turning into tigers. He also acceded readily to the man's request for being granted some land.

Whether the grant was around the present tomb of the holy man or not is not recorded anywhere. Although, Shri Hemendra Bandyopadhyay⁴² in his history of Howrah, called in Bengali *Howrah Zellar Itihas*, describes these episodes. The man came from Arabia. The current caretaker of the tomb, Shaikh Maqbool very proudly told the author that the Pirbaba came from Arabia to preach Islam. His guess was that this happened some 250 years ago. Until his coming, there were no Muslims in the area. Today more than half the population of the village *Baniban*, which the author visited in July, 2001, is Muslim. Howrah district also has a large Muslim presence some of whom must be due to the proselytising of this Pirbaba whose name was Abbas-uddin Shah, although, he was popularly known as Jungle Pir Saheb, presumably because the area was then a dense forest.



Dargah of Jungle Purbaba Baniban, Howrah district, converted overnight from a Shiv temple

Photograph: July, 2001

Baba's miracles were repeatedly mentioned by the people of the mazaar. Superstition, as it were, was the theme song of the shrine. The author was told by those present at Baniban, that every year on 14th January, over a lac (100,000) of people gather at a fair. It is known as the *Junglee Bilash Pirer Mela*. Many Hindus also come. Almost all Hindus of the village rever the Baba but are not allowed into the *mazaar* premises. Several boys, including a Banerjee, whispered to the author's two companions, their utter surprise that we had gained easy entry. A former member of the *Wakf*, who had also come along on seeing us, said that the *mazaar* was built by no one. Caretaker Shaikh Maqbool confirmed and added that the edifice required no repairs at all. Only it was painted every year before the 14th January fair.

On the day of the *Mela*, quite a few women take a dip in the pond near the *mazaar* and then offer flowers while bathing. If the petals glide back to the offerer, she would go to the caretakers, collect a betel leaf or *paan* from them and consume it along with the petals. The hope would be, to be able to have a baby. On the other hand, men offer flowers in the hope that the petals would glide across the pond. If they cross the water, any wish of the offerer would be fulfilled. Such is the magnet of faith or superstition! Or the charisma of the Pirbaba. One of the elders who had also joined us, pointed to a tree close to the *mazaar*. Its leaves were dark green and nearly round or oval. The fruit was black. According to the elder, nowhere else in Bengal was there such a species of tree. It had been planted by the baba and was still going strong!

To satisfy the author's curiosity, several of the folk present recounted the greatness of Pirbaba. It was little wonder they said, that on the night after he had ascended to heaven, all of a sudden the *mazaar* emerged miraculously. Obviously, it was a divine signal for his followers to bury him inside the edifice. Incidentally, the only room in the edifice is a relatively small one, and is not much bigger than say twice the area of the tombstone which is covered with a bright green and red *chador*. There is just about sufficient space to go around the tombstone. The height of the room is also low and proportionate to the smallness of the floor. There are no windows and hardly any embellishments. Three of the walls have approximately 20 cm × 30 cm depressions for holding wick lamps. The fourth wall has the only door to the room.

There is no hint of a dome which one normally looks forward to seeing in Muslim architecture. The roof is not quite flat. It is sloped on all four sides. The slopes are gradual and slightly curving. In Bengal this kind of work is called *aatchalah*



Doorway of Jungle Pirbaba dargah

Photograph: July, 2001

which is known to be a typically Hindu temple design. Bandyopadhyay ends the chapter on Baniban in his book with a gentle remark about the Hindu similarity.

Let us see what the Howrah District Gazetteer compiled by Amiya Kumar Banerji IAS and published in November, 1972 has to say. The previous gazetteer was written by L.S.S. O'Malley and M. Chakravarti and published in 1909. Much of the older material has been taken while writing the 1972 edition:

The neighbouring village of Jangalbilas is a place of Mohammedan pilgrimage centring round the mosque of Pir Saheb, a Muslim saint. Popular legends connect the Pir with an unnamed Raja of Burdwan, who after witnessing a miracle performed by the Pir, made free gift of the village to the latter.

The mosque is a charchala brick structure, unusual for a mosque, with a height of about 20 feet. Two stone door-jambes flanking the closed entrance on the south display geometrical designs and lotus motifs which, on stylistic grounds, appear to belong to the 11th–13th centuries although the mosque itself could not have been built before the 16th century. The annual festival of the saint commences on the last day of the Bengali month of Poush (mid-January) and lasts for seven consecutive days. On the first two days, Hindus and Muslims alike gather on the bank of the adjacent tank and offer flowers and simi into the tank in the name of the Pir.

Apart from the look and the architecture of the *mazaar*, the people the author met at Baniban appeared a little uneasy although friendly. The unsolicited statement by the caretaker soon after the author's arrival that the edifice needs no repairs seemed hasty, although the author took no note of it immediately. When the former member of the *Wakf* board volunteered to say that no one built the *mazaar*, but it had suddenly emerged overnight, the author wondered why was this assertion made in spite of the author not asking about its origin. Then on the way back, the author's companions told him that Hindus were not allowed inside the *mazaar*. This was surprising, as Muslims welcome everyone to most of their holy places, certainly to *mazaars* and *dargahs*. Why was Baniban an exception? Was the *mazaar* a Shiv or Shankar mandir before Pirbaba's death? The author cannot but suspect so, since that July morning.

17 *Mandir and Dargah in One Building*

A Hindu became a Muslim to save the mandir

It was on a November day in 1484AD that Champaner, a prestigious kingdom 160km from Vadodara, popularly known as Baroda in Gujarat, fell to Muhammad Shah, the Sultan of Ahmedabad. He had planned and tried to capture Champaner several times before, but had found the fortress called Pavagadh to be invincible. Moreover, he had as a courtier one Sadanshah Faqir, alias Sahadev Joshi, a Brahmin turned Muslim. The Faqir kept the rajah of Champaner, Pavapati Jaisinh Dev informed of the sultan's moves. He had changed his faith merely to be acceptable to Muhammad Shah. This legend was confirmed by the book called *Rai Benirai* by Ramesh Joshi, Gujarat Pustakalaya, Vadodara, 1995.

That November day, however, the sultan's army was able to storm the fort of Champaner. The decisive factor was the treachery of Jaisinh Dev's brother-in-law Saiyan Vankalio who showed the way to break in. The rajahs of Sirohi and Idar are believed to have helped Muhammad Shah according to Ramesh Joshi.

Although they were allies of the Muslim sultan, they did not abandon their loyalty to goddess Mahakali whose temple had, for centuries, crowned the Pavagadh hill that overlooked the city of Champaner. Even on the evening of their victory, they did not forget to go up to the temple to get a darshan of the Mahakali. Sadanshah Faqir was waiting for them. He had feared that in the aftermath of victory, the sultan would come up the hill to see the legendary temple and its deity. The Faqir therefore implored the rajahs of Sirohi and Idar to take away the idol of Mahakali with them to one of their kingdoms and save it from the iconoclasm of Muhammad Shah.

Knowing the sultan's temper, they were apprehensive of his vengeance in the event he found that they had smuggled out the deity on the morrow of his victory. Especially because, after apprehending Jaisinh Dev, Muhammad Shah had offered the throne of Champaner back to him, on the condition that he embrace Islam immediately. Although badly wounded and bleeding, the defeated rajah was defiant. Pulling out the sword of one of the guards around him, he swung it at the sultan who fortuitously stepped back and saved himself, although another guard near him got beheaded. So furious was the defiance of Jaisinh. He was killed thereafter by the sultan's soldiers within minutes.

Nevertheless, being faithfuls of the goddess Mahakali, the rajahs of Sirohi and Idar heard the reassurances of Sadanshah. If they took away the idol, the Faqir would report to the sultan that he had tried his best to hold back the deity for his royal visit to the Pavagadh temple. But before the rajahs could take away the idol, the goddess disappeared into the ground below. Her plaited hair however remained clutched in the hand of Sadanshah. Muhammad Shah could not get to the goddess, although local legend has it that he used artillery to knock down the ancient temple. One of the guns believed to have been used in the operation, still lies atop Pavagadh hill.

What the old temple looked like, no one knows today. The present *mandir* is of comparatively recent origin; probably built by a Maratha chieftain in the decades preceding the third battle of Panipat in 1761. As a tribute to Sadanshah Faqir alias Sahadev Joshi, for saving the idol of Mahakali from the sultan's iconoclastic fury, he is called Pir Sadanshah. A dargah in his memory was built on the roof of the *mandir*. The author does not know of any other single construction which at once houses a Hindu temple and a Muslim dargah. On the day of his visit, a Muslim devotee was selling *taveez* or metal trinkets at five rupees a piece.

Hundreds of devotees go up to the *dargah* after having *darshan* of Mahakali on the floor below. Nearly all of them appear to be Hindus. The ascent to the *mandir* is hard work for it means climbing 2,830 feet from the foot of the hill. The author was told that during *navaratri* or the nine days preceding *dussehra*, Pavagadh is thronged by thousands of pilgrims. For those who can afford cars, it is easy to drive upto Machi. Thereafter, for Rs. 37.00 one can ride a ropeway known in Gujarati as *uran khatola*. The last steps numbering about 240 again make tough climbing for the aged devotees, some of whom hire a *palki* carried by men for Rs. 250 each. The younger, or the poorer devotees, climb all the way.



Domes of mandir and dargah on the same roof at Pavagadh

Photograph: November, 2001



Steps to Kali temple, Pavagadh

Photograph: November, 2001



Row of statues at Pavagadh

Photograph: November, 2001

Champaner was the premier capital of Gujarat before the rise of Siddhpur near Patan under Siddhraj Jaisinh Solanki and his father during the 10th century. Champaner rose to fame again when Muhammad Shah Begda, the son and successor of Ahmed Shah who, incidentally, had renamed the city of Karnavati as Ahmedabad early in the 15th century. Due to shortages of water, Begda's successors had to move back to Ahmedabad. In the event, Champaner ceased to enjoy its pre-eminence. Over the last several decades, serious efforts have been made by non-governmental agencies to excavate and revive the many glorious buildings that adorned the area. It is not widely known why Muhammad Shah came to be called Begda. He had earlier conquered Junagadh in the Saurashtra area of Gujarat. That was one *gadh* or fort. When he captured Pavagadh, he had won two *gadhs*. In the Gujarati language, *be* means two, so maybe two forts or *Begda* or *begadha*.

Going back to Champaner, its soil must be proud that it produced the unusual person of Sahadev Joshi. He gave up his faith and became a Muslim in order to save his *matribhoomi* or motherland, as well as his goddess Mahakali, from desecration. This is the only case of a person sacrificing, as distinct from changing, his religion. Remarkable indeed!

18 Shuddhi by Government

A full circle. From Jain temple to masjid to Bharat Mata mandir

What is now known as Daulatabad was originally Devagiri Fort built by King Bhilamma V, a Yadav king who ruled the area in the year approximating 1184 AD. It was taken through deception by Allauddin Khilji in 1294 AD when he was still not the sultan and had pretended to be a disaffected nobleman. Twelve years later in 1306 AD, Malik Kafur who was a general in Sultan Allauddin's army, invaded the south and captured Daulatabad. The ostensible purpose of his invasion was to reinforce repatriation of revenues of the area, as had been agreed to during the earlier invasion of Khirki. Six years later, Kafur came again for enforcing the same agreement although this time he was extremely punitive. He went to the extent of beheading the ruling raja named Shankerdeo. Yet another six years later in 1318 AD the successor Hasrapala rebelled against the sultan. He was punished by Malik Kafur, whose cruelty became legend in the area because he had Hasrapala flayed alive.

Then came Muhammad bin Tughlaq who took over the fort when he shifted his capital from Delhi to Devagiri in 1326 AD. In fact, it is he who introduced the name Daulatabad. Much later during the 14th century, Hassan Gangu Abu'l Muzaffar Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah and his successors captured the fortress and were in possession until the advent of the Mughals in the 17th century. On Augangzeb's death in 1707, the Nizam of the Asafjahi dynasty appropriated Daulatabad as part of his domain, along with his declaration of independence from the Mughal emperor. Incidentally, Daulatabad can be termed as having been charismatic for the rulers of Delhi. In 1653, Shahjehan through his Khan-e-Khanan, Mahabat Khan, invested the fort and had the *khutba* read at the Jami masjid in the emperor's name.

Evidently, the history of Daulatabad has been littered with blood and cruelty. Nevertheless, the fortress remained an edifice to be proud of. As quoted in the *Cambridge History of India, Volume III*, London, 1928, Ibn Batutah, who visited the area early in the 14th century, described Daulatabad as a great and magnificent city equal to Delhi. Three centuries later, the official chronicler of Shahjehan, Abu-ul-Hamid Lahori, waxed eloquent about the fort:

This lofty fortress, the ancient names of which were Deogir and Dharagir is a mass of rock which raises its head towards heaven. The rock has been scarped throughout its circumference, which measures 5,000 legal yards, to a depth which ensures the retention of water in the ditch at the foot of the escarpment Through the centre of the hill a dark spiral passage like the ascent of a minar, which it is impossible to traverse, even in daylight, without a lamp, had been cut, and the steps in this passage are cut out of the rock... The ordinary means of reducing fortresses, such as mines, covered ways, batteries, etc., are useless against this strong fortress. This passage still exists and is the only work the attribution of which to Muhammad is doubtful, for Ibn Batutah, who visited Daulatabad late in 1342 or early in 1343, records that access to the citadel was then gained by means of a leathern ladder.

What however is of interest to us is the unusual *shuddhi* that the temple underwent inside the outer wall of the fortress. This historical event took place in 1948 on the morrow of the *police action* by the Government of India during the takeover of the Nizam's Hyderabad. There had been a great deal of local pressure for the restitution of the temple. Leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as well as Shri Kanhaiyalal Munshi were also aware that it was a Jain mandir which had been forcibly converted into a masjid by Alauddin Khilji.

However, to avoid giving a religious or a communal colour to the *shuddhi* or reconversion, the idol installed in the sanctum sanctorum was that of Bharat Mata. It is therefore now known as the Bharat Mata temple, although for 700 years it had been called Jami masjid. The mandir was built on a plan not dissimilar to Palitana in Gujarat and Dilwara at Mount Abu, Rajasthan. There is a large courtyard. There were the usual traditional 52 pillars as in Jain places of worship. At the western end was a hall, typical of an ancient temple. A flat roof was held aloft by 152 stone pillars. The author and his colleagues during their visit in 2001 were told on authority that the pillars were constructed according to the Himar Panti style of architecture, one of whose special characteristics was the interlocking of stones without the use of any cementing material.



Beheaded pillars of Jain temple at Devgiri later named Daulatabad by Allaudin Khilji

Photograph: September, 2001



Pillar with statuettes at Daulatabad

Photograph: September, 2001



Doorway at Daulatabad fort with defaced statuette

Photograph: September, 2001



Image of Bharat Mata installed at Daulatabad after police action against the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1948

Photograph: September, 2001

The flat roof had been modified to the extent that a small dome had been raised above where the *mimbar* was, prior to the *shuddhi* in 1948. On several of the beams were engraved the Chalukia emblem called *Kiritmukh Patti* which only confirmed that the temple was built during Chalukia rule. An unusual sight was the terracota colour with which the 152 pillars were coloured upto a height of about 12 feet. Above that, was white colouring. We were told that this was done during the Nizam's period. One can only presume that the intention might have been to distract attention from the Jain character of the edifice.

Also, between the outermost wall and the third fort wall, there is a structure which is much smaller than the Bharat Mata temple but of a similar design. There is however no courtyard. Uncannily, an image of Mahavir Swami can still be seen on more than one of the pillars. Until 1948, there must have been a *mehraab* covering the sanctum sanctorum, because around the area there are several Arabic inscriptions recalling the name of Almighty Allah.

All in all, the Daulatabad fort is an enormous structure covering many hectares of a hill face. It was considered impregnable because it was taken only by intrigue and not by force. The highest point was reported to be 80 meters. It was the administrative centre of the area until Aurangzeb established himself at the nearby city of Khirki renamed Aurangabad by him. Defences were reinforced with the help of a series of four walls. There is a moat between the innermost and the second wall. Incidentally, not far from the entrance to the outermost wall, there is a soaring Chand Minar whose idea was evidently inspired by the Qutb Minar in Delhi. It is 63 meters high and is still in an immaculate condition. It was built by King Ahmed Shah Bahamani to celebrate his rule. Right at the top of the hill fort, is the *baradari* hall, built as a conference hall when the Mughal emperor happened to visit Daulatabad.

19 *Iconoclasm Continues in Pakistan, Bangladesh and in Kashmir*

One evening in July, 2001, the author happened to meet in Delhi a young man working for the British foreign office. By an unusual coincidence, he happened to have looked through *The Saffron Book* by the author.⁴⁴ He said he liked it, but for one of its sections entitled *Humiliation*. This section describes a few temple desecrations. It also claims that those temples, although converted into mosques, still look more like mandirs and should therefore be returned to the Hindus. This suggestion had seemed mischievous to the young man who incidentally had a fair idea of India. He was no one to deny the facts of history but asked: why dig up the past? How can medieval wrongs be righted with the help of modern retaliation? In any case, India has many socio-economic priorities. Surely getting temples back, is not one of them.

The author tried to explain to the young man the slavish mentality that afflicts some of us Hindus due to the trauma of atrocities committed by the invaders. Now we need to regain self respect and self confidence. He was evidently not registering any of the author's explanations. Mind you, a social gathering was not the best place to either discuss a book or a temple or a historic trauma. At the same time, his having raised the point, the author had to convince him especially because we might not meet again. The author therefore told him that his impression that temple desecration was only a medieval phenomenon was wrong. It is a continuing crime. Any number of temples have been destroyed, demolished or set on fire during the last one decade. At first, the British gentleman did not believe the author.

The author therefore had no choice but to get from him, his address. So that he could send him the actual details of the kind of havoc that fanatics have perpetrated on the temples in the subcontinent. In a way, this encounter with the young man

was helpful. But for him, the author might not have compiled the list, and certainly not obtained details of desecration in Pakistan. A testimonial for what has been happening in Bangladesh was best given by the persecuted Ms Taslima Nasrin.⁴⁵

A Muslim lady certifying the desecration of temples in her own country was, for the fair minded British individual, more than sufficient proof. The author's quoting books and records by Indians, especially Hindu, about the Kashmir Valley and Pakistan might not have been quite so readily convincing had he not been able to quote ad lib from Nasrin's *Lajja*. Little do people realise that Hindus have, seldom in history, recorded the destruction of their own temples. All contemporary records of the past were written by Muslim chroniclers. One of the first of these was Al-Beruni, who wrote at length about the exploits of the notorious iconoclast Mahmud Ghazni.

Subsequently, British archaeologists, surveyors as well as historians and soldiers began their yeoman's contribution to India's heritage, its discovery, description as well as significance. Very little of these invaluable records have been included in the books on Indian history, which have pretensions of scholarship. Some 3,000 temples, over and above the recent ones, that the author is going to mention, were desecrated. But very few of the episodes have found their way into books of history. About the only ones popularly known are Somnath, Benares and Mathura. Of the rest, temple destruction can be described as *India's ignored history*.

Lest the author sound antagonistic towards either Bangladesh or Pakistan, let him begin with the destruction that has taken place in the Kashmir Valley since 1990. He is quoting from a book called *Kashmir: Wail of a Valley* by R.N. Kaul, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.⁴⁶ Amongst the prominent temples to be set on fire was the Dashnami Akhara in Srinagar. It is the mandir from where the annual summer pilgrimage to Amarnath begins. Ganpatyar temple has been attacked again and again including by bombs. It has also been subjected to two separate rocket attacks. The Shiva temple at Jawahir Nagar, a well known locality of Srinagar, was yet another object of attack. At Anantnag, the targets of violence were the Raghunath as well as the Gāutam Nag mandirs and the triple temple of Lok Bhawan. The Wanpoh mandir which had been almost completely demolished in 1986, was again desecrated on 21st February, 1992. The Mattan mandir was instantly converted into a Muslim shrine by *namaz*, being said. In all, some 70 Hindu places of worship have been desecrated. This list is based on the information available in *Kashmir: Wail of a Valley*. The list is given in Appendix I that follows this chapter.

Another list of 46 desecrations which were perpetrated during 1986 or before is given in Appendix II. It is important to note that many of the temples which we have listed in Appendices I and II, *were attacked long before the Babri edifice was demolished on December 6, 1992*. Is it not surprising that hardly any protest was made or heard while these demolitions were taking place? Is it not even more amazing how much noise was made and continues to be made over a single edifice at Ayodhya? Evidently, a sense of proportion is not our virtue. However, credit must be given to the popular daily *Hindustan Times* for what it published on 8th July, 1985:

There was a mass exodus of the members of minority community from the state of Jammu & Kashmir to other parts of the country. This was a dangerous trend which should be stopped. There was indeed a sinister conspiracy to throw out the Hindus and Sikhs from the valley so that the designs of complete Islamisation were fulfilled.

Having established his bonafides, by first talking about Taslima Nasrin, the author has dealt with his own country, namely, the Kashmir Valley. He now proceeds to Pakistan, where a total of 244 places of worship were destroyed after the Babri Masjid incident. These include one gurudwara and one church. The province-wise distribution is: Sind 134, Baluchistan 42, NWFP 7 and the Punjab 61. The names and the locations of some places of worship desecrated are listed in Appendix III.

A slaughter house now operates from the site where once there was a Gurudwara at Ratan Tata Road, Karachi. The Gurudwara was reportedly destroyed long ago.

Coming back to Bangladesh, according to Ms Taslima Nasrin, *62 temples were destroyed in 1990, a clean two years before and not after the Babri edifice was brought down*. In her words:

...they are angry when a mosque is destroyed, don't they realize that Hindus will be just as angry when temples are destroyed? Just because one mosque has been demolished must they destroy hundreds and hundreds of temples? Doesn't Islam profess peace?

On the morrow of 6th December, 1992, there was mayhem in many parts of Bangladesh. Quoted below is one list of the killings, damage and destruction compiled by Nasrin.

- In Golokpur, thirty Hindu women were raped. Chanchali, Sandhya, Moni... Nikunja Dutta had died. Bhagavati, an old lady, had been so terrified that she died of a heart attack. In Golokpur incidents of daylight rape were reported. Even women who had taken refuge in Muslim homes were being raped.
- Fourteen hundred maunds of betel nuts belonging to Nantu Haldar were burnt to ashes at Das' Haat Bazaar.
- The police magistrate and DC were mute spectators to the destruction of temples at Bhola city.
- The jewellery of temples was openly looted.
- A Hindu washermens' colony was burnt to cinders.
- At Manikgunj, they destroyed the Lakshmi temple, the community Shiv temple, the goldsmith lanes of Dashara and Kalikhala and the big beverage and cigarette godowns of Gadadhar Pal.
- Three truckloads of people raided the police stations at Twara, Baniajuri, Pukuria, Uthli, Mahadebpur, Joka and Shivalaya.
- Three kilometres from the city, Hindu homes were looted and burnt in the Betila village.
- The century old Naat mandir of Betila was attacked.
- Jeevan Saha's home at Garpara was torched; three cowsheds were burnt to ashes; hundrds of mounds of paddy were lost in the flames.
- Hindu shops at Terosree Bazaar under Ghior police station, and Hindu houses at Gangdubi, Baniajuri and Senpara were burnt down. At Senpara, a Hindu woman was raped as well.
- The Kali temple of Pirozepur, the Debarchana Committee Kali mandir, the Manasha mandir, the Sheetala mandir, the Shiv mandir, the Narayan mandir, the Pirozepur Madanmohon Bigraha mandir, the Kali temple of Roykathi, the Krishnanagar Rai Rasaraj Seva Ashram, the Dumurtala Shreeguru Sangha ashram and mandir, the Kali temple at Suresh Saha's home in Dukheri Dumurtala, the Manasha mandir at Naren Saha's house in Dumurtala, the Manasha mandir at the ancestral home of Ramesh Saha, the community Kali mandir at Dumurtala, the temples at the homes of Sucharan Mondal, Gouranga Haldar, Harendra Nath Saha, Narendra Nath Saha, the Kali temple beside the Dumurtala high school, the Ranipur Panch Devi mandir, the community mandir of Hularhaat and Kartick Das' furniture shop, the

Kali mandir, the Kalakhali Sanatan Ashram, the Jujkhola Gour Govinda Seva Ashram, the Harisabha Sanatan Dharma mandir, the Kali mandir at the home of Ranjit Seal, the Jujkhola community puja centre, the community Durga mandir near the Gabtola school, the temple in Bipin Haldar's house at Krishnanagar, the community Kali mandir at Namazpur, the temple and math at Kalikathi Biswas' home, the Lairi Kali mandir, the community temple of Inderhaat under Swarupkathi police station, the Durga mandir at Kanai Biswas' home in Inderhaat, Nakul Saha's cinema hall, the Durga mandir at Amal Guha's home, the temple at Hemanta Seal's house and the Kali mandir at Jadav Das' house at Mathbaria police station were all set ablaze.

- The Shiv mandir at Mistripara in Syedpur was also destroyed.
- The community temple at Rathdanga village of Narail district, the Ghona community mandir, the Kudulia community crematorium, Nikhil Chandra Dey's family mandir, Kalipada Hazra's family temple, Shivprosad Pal's family temple, the family temple at Dulal Chandra Chakraborty's home in Badon village, Krishna Chandra Laskar's family temple, the Taltala village community temple, the family temples of Baidyanath Saha, Sukumar Biswas and Pagla Biswas at Pankabila village, the community temple at Pankabila village, the Narayan Jiu mandir at Purbapara Daulatpur under Lohagara police station were all ransacked and demolished.
- Ten temples at Khulna were razed to the ground.
- Four or five temples along with houses were looted and plundered at Raduli in Paikpara and at Shobonadas and Baka villages.
- Two temples were destroyed in the Talimpur area under Rupsa police station. Hindu homes adjacent to it were also looted.
- On the night of 8th December, 1992, three temples in the Dighlia and Senhati areas were burnt down.
- A group of processionists raided thirteen homes in Sahadevpur village, Feni.
- Twenty people were injured in the Jaipur village of Chagalnaiya.
- At Langalboa village, Gobinda Prosad Roy's home was raided by two hundred people at the instigation of Moazzem Hussain. A person by the name of Kamal Biswas was seriously injured; it was possible he would succumb to his injuries.

Appendix I

Hindu places of worship desecrated in Kashmir since 1990

Temples at:

1. Dashnami Akhara, Srinagar
2. Ganpatyar
3. Shiva Temple, Srinagar
4. Raghu Nath Mandir, Anantnag
5. Gautam Nag Temple, Anantnag
6. Three Temples of Lok Bhawan, Anantnag
7. Shailputri Temple, Baramulla
8. Wanpoh Mandir, Anantnag
9. Bhairavnath Mandir, Baramulla
10. Rupabhawani Mandir, Vaskura
11. Bhairav Nath Temple, Sopore
12. Khirbhawani Mandir, Ganderbal
13. Mattan Temple, Anantnag
14. Gautam Nag Hermitage
15. Vilagam
16. Shoolara
17. Gushi
18. Kaloosa
19. Sadamalun
20. Pattan ruins
21. Kanimoja Gantamulla
22. Hanumat Kund, Kupwara
23. Raja Ram Mountains
24. Khoja Bagh Temple, Baramulla
25. Hanjivera Temple, Pattan, Baramulla
26. Venkara Temple, Baramulla
27. Palhalan Temple, Baramulla
28. Bhairav Nath Temple, Baramulla
29. Ragnya Temple, Zainpora, Kulagam
30. Brari-Angan Shrine, Anantnag
31. Kulavaghishwari Temple, Kulagam

32. Temples, Hanand Chawalgam
33. Manzagam Temple
34. Temples, Mirhama
35. Temples Arrh
36. Temple Batsargam
37. Kakyayani Temple, Kulagam
38. Vaishakhi Temple, Kharbrari, Kulagam
39. Temple, Bugani, Kulagam
40. Temple, Dhanav, Bogund, Kulagam
41. Temple, Wanpoh, Anantnag
42. Temple, Ashmuji, Kulagam
43. Temple, Divasar
44. Temple, Khanbarni, Kulagam
45. Nari Bharan Temple, Shopian
46. Thakur Dwar Temple Shopian
47. Kapalmochan Temple, Shopian
48. Kakren Temple
49. Temple, Mahnoor, Badgam
50. Temple, Yechakoot, Badgam
51. Temple Shoolipora, Badgam
52. Temple Sangrampora, Badgam
53. Gangajattan, Badgam
54. Shiva Temple, Rainawari, Srinagar
55. Ram Koul Temple, Hariparbat
56. Ganesh Temple, Hariparbat
57. Prayag Chinar, Shadipora
58. Seven Temples, Rainawari, Srinagar
59. Vaital Bhairav, Dal Lake
60. Balak Pathshahi Temple, Srinagar
61. Ram Temple, Khankhal Sokta, Safakadal, Srinagar
62. Ropa Bhawani Asthapan, Khankhai Sokta, Srinagar
63. Temple, Purushyar, Srinagar
64. Katleshwar Temple, Srinagar
65. Raghunath Temple, Fateh Kadal, Srinagar
66. Swami Gopi Nath Ashram, Kharyar, Srinagar
67. Temple, Payar
68. Temples, Malmoh, Badgam
69. Temple, Shalla Kadal, Kanikadal, Srinagar
70. Pokhribal Temple, Kathidarwaza, Srinagar

Appendix II

Hindu places of worship desecrated in Kashmir in 1986

Temples at:

1. Anantnag
2. Gotamnag
3. Krangsu
4. Akura
5. Nanil
6. Thanisher(Akura)
7. Ramhall
8. Brakpora
9. Achabal
10. Nowgam(Kuthar)
11. Telwani
12. Akingam
13. Mohripora
14. Sagam
15. Batapora(Dialgam)
16. Fatehpora
17. Ranbirpora
18. Ohpaisen
19. Nandkisore
20. Vanpoh
21. Danav Bogund
22. Chowgam
23. Luk Bhavan
24. Verinag
25. Chandian Pajjan
26. Sallar
27. Aishmuqam
28. Bijbehara
29. Gund Jaffar
30. Tral
31. Dragpura

32. Baramula
33. Seer
34. Kawpura
35. Bandipur
36. Sopore
37. Jawahar Nagar
38. Karan Nagar
39. Ganpatyar
40. Dashnami Akhara Budshah Chowk(Srinagar)
41. Waskura
42. Purshyar
43. Bhairav Mandir
44. Nawagam(Badgam)
45. Mazhome(Badgam)
46. Gulgam(Kupwara)

Appendix III

Province-wise list of some Hindu temples destroyed in Pakistan

SINDH

1. 16 temples in **Karachi**
2. Church at Keamari

Hyderabad

1. Temple Liaquat Colony
2. Colony Gurunanak Temple at Qazi Abdul Qayyum Road
3. Two temples, Tilak Incline
4. Temple at Miani Road
5. Ramapeer Mandir in Tando Allahyar
6. Temple at Siroghot

Sanghar

1. Temple at Shahdadpur
2. Temple at Sinjhor
3. Jholelal Mandir at Sinjhor
4. Shiamji Mandir at Sinjhor
5. Ram Peer mandir at Sinjhor
6. Sawai Mandir at Sinjhor
7. Dharamshala at Sinjhor

Other Districts

1. Temple at Hala
2. Temple at Khairpur
3. Temple at Jheddo (Tharparkar)
4. Temple at Sukkur
5. Temple at Badin
6. Temple at Badhtaluka
7. Temple at Rattodero
8. Temple at Jacobabad

PUNJAB**Lahore**

1. Krishna Temple, Shishmahal Road
2. Sheetala Mandir, Shahalam Bazaar
3. Lal Mandir, Shishmahal Road
4. Temple at Old Sarqi Rattan Chand
5. Valmiki Temple, Bheem Street, Neela Gumbad Chowk
6. Temple near Badshahwala Bazar
7. Temple at Hatha Datu Shah
8. Bhagat Ram Temple, Maulana Ahmed Road
9. Temple at Dev Samaj Road
10. Two temples at Khaja Syed
11. Jain Mandir, Old Anarkali
12. Gaushala, Ravi Road
13. Temple at Chowk Ghantaghar
14. Temple near Muslim High School
15. Temple in Street No. 11, Badami Chowk
16. Temple at Sheeshganj
17. Church near Lal Sale High School

Multan

1. Prahlad temple in Qilla Khana

Other Places

1. Temple at Tippu Road, Shamshan Ghaat, Rawalpindi
2. Temple at Chowk Road, Bahawalnagar

BALUCHISTAN**Quetta**

1. 15 Temples at Quetta

Other Places

1. Temple at Chaman
2. Temple at Harni(Ziarat)
3. Temple at Dayar
4. Temple at Kalat
5. Temple at Nasirabad (Sibi)
6. Temple at Mastung
7. Temple at Loralai
8. Temple at Khuzdar
9. Temple at Uthal

NWFP

Peshawar

1. 3 Temples

Other Places

1. Temple in Mingora
2. Temple at Khwaja Khela
3. Temple at Chingalai
4. Temple at Bannu
5. One Gurudwara at Padeshawar

20 American Professor on Temple Desecration

Richard M. Eaton, Professor of History, University of Arizona has listed 80 temple desecrations and has charted them on three maps

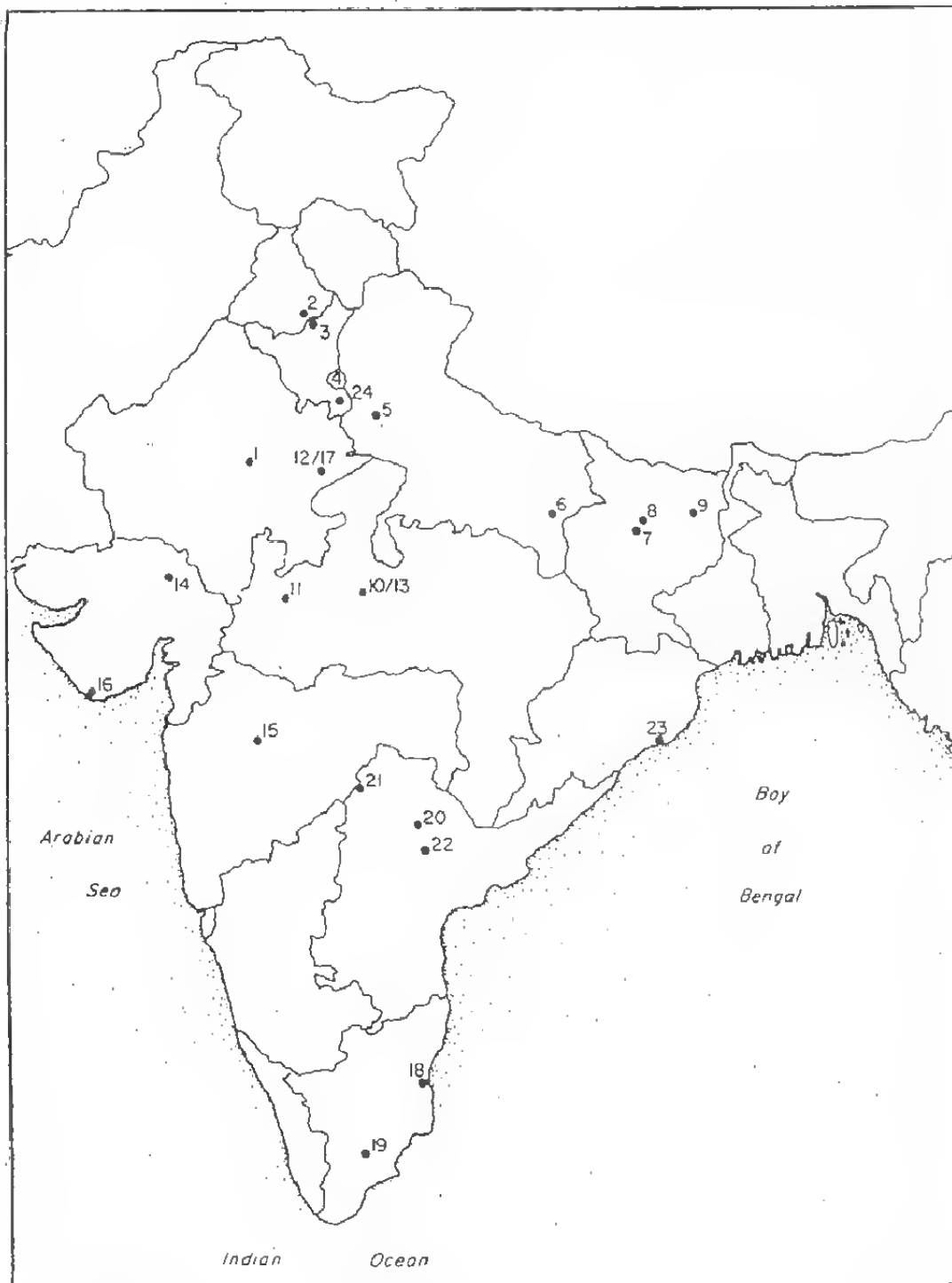
The second myth about temple desecrations is that a few Hindu scholars like Professors Ram Swarup and Sita Ram Goel have exaggerated their incidence. The truth is that iconoclasm was an integral aspect for long periods in the medieval history of India. The original sources of information are nearly all contemporary Muslim chroniclers who wrote in Arabic or Persian. Innumerable Muslim sources and their prolific records are proof that the *badshahs* as well as Muslim elite considered desecrations to be important enough to be recorded at such length.

A number of chroniclers have described with exhilaration the desecrations in their time indicating satisfaction at the service performed for the sake of Allah. One of the last Islamic scholars to have commented gleefully on temple desecration was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan⁴⁷ who founded Aligarh Muslim University in his well known treatise called *Asaru's Sanadid*. Yet another modern luminary to have written with pride was Maulana Hakim Sayed Abdul Hai⁴⁸ (affectionately called Abdul Hai), Rector, Daurul-Ulum Nadwatul-Ulama at Deoband.

After their arrival in India in the 18th and 19th centuries, British scholars also took interest in the subject of temple desecration. For purposes of research, they used medieval chroniclers. In addition to the invaluable information they were able to dig up, they added their knowledge by personal surveys of the sites where desecrations had taken place. An outstanding surveyor was Lt. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham,⁴⁹ the first Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

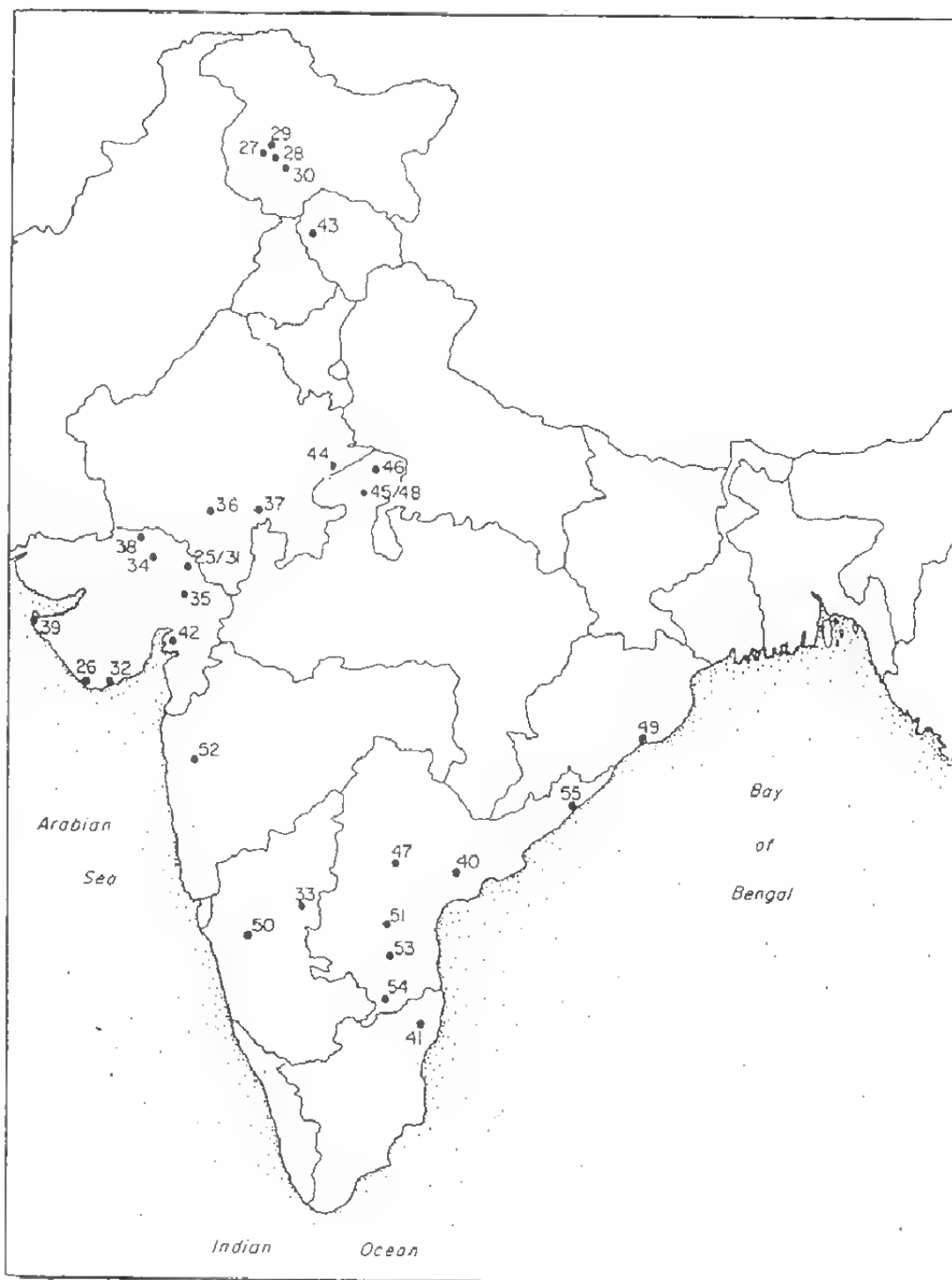
The fact that medieval Islamic chroniclers as well as British historians took so much interest, *is evidence enough of the historic importance of temple desecration*. Medieval scholars presumably were gratified at the damage that their invading patrons were able to inflict on a non-Muslim civilisation. They considered faith as the bedrock of Hindu civilisation. The destruction of a temple would help in cracking the bedrock and thus make it easier for conversion of Hindus into Muslims; progress towards the establishment of Darul Islam. British historians were critical of this destructive aggression and lamented particularly the attempted obliteration of many a beautiful temple.

Uncannily, most modern Indian historians have ignored medieval Islamic chroniclers as well as British archaeologists. The result has been that few history books carry the tragic saga of temple desecration. This mischief of silence has, in turn, given the impression that isolated Hindu scholars are the only ones who have made a hue and cry about mandirs having been damaged or destroyed by Muslims. In the following pages are given three maps drawn by Professor Eaton⁵⁰ alongwith his list of 80 temples and a bibliography of his sources. These are taken from his *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2000.



A) Temple desecrations, 1192–1394, imperialism of the Delhi Sultanate
(See table at the end of the chapter)

(Courtesy Oxford University Press, Delhi: Richard M. Eaton: *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, 2000)



B) Temple desecrations, 1394–1600, the growth of regional sultanates
(See table at the end of the chapter)

(Courtesy Oxford University Press, Delhi: Richard M. Eaton: *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, 2000)



C) Temple desecrations, 1600–1760, expansion and reassertions of Mughal authority
(See table at the end of the chapter)

(Courtesy Oxford University Press, Delhi: Richard M. Eaton: *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, 2000)

Instances of Temple Desecration 1192-1760

No.	Date	Site	District	State	Agent	Source
1.	1193	Ajmer	Ajmer	Rajasthan	Md. Ghuri (s)	23:215
2.	1193	Samana	Patiala	Punjab	Aibek (g)	23:216-217
3.	1193	Kuhram	Karnal	Haryana	Aibek (g)	23:216-217
4.	1193	Delhi		UP	Md. Ghuri (s)	1(1911):13; 23:217, 222
5.	1194	Kol	Aligarh	UP	Ghurid army	23:224
6.	1194	Benares	Benares	UP	Ghurid army	23:223
7.	c.1202	Nalanda	Patna	Bihar	Bakhtiyar Khalaji (c)	20:90
8.	c.1202	Odantapuri	Patna	Bihar	Bakhtiyar Khalaji	22:319; 21:551-2
9.	c.1202	Vikramasila	Saharsa	Bihar	Bakhtiyar Khalaji	22:319
10.	1234	Bhilsa	Vidisha	MP	Iltutmish (s)	21:621-2
11.	1234	Ujjain	Ujjain	MP	Iltutmish	21:622-3
12.	1290	Jhain	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	Jalal al-Din Khalaji (s)	27:146
13.	1292	Bhilsa	Vidisha	MP	Ala al-Din Khalaji (g)	27:148
14.	1298-1310	Vijapur	Mehsana	Gujarat	Khalaji invaders	2(1974):10-12
15.	1295	Devagiri	Aurangabad	Maharashtra	Ala al-Din Khalaji (g)	24:543
16.	1299	Somnath	Junagadh	Gujarat	Ulugh Khan (c)	25:75
17.	1301	Jhain	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	Ala al-Din Khalaji (s)	25:75-6
18.	1311	Chidambaram	South Arcot	Tamil Nadu	Malik Kafur (c)	25:90-1

Contd...

Contd. ...

No.	Date	Site	District	State	Agent	Source
19.	1311	Madurai	Madurai	Tamil Nadu	Malik Kafur	25:91
20.	c.1323	Warangal	Warangal	AP	Ulugh Khan (p)	33:1-2
21.	c.1323	Bodhan	Nizamabad	AP	Ulugh Khan	1(1919-20):16
22.	c.1323	Pillalamarri	Nalgonda	AP	Ulugh Khan	17:114
23.	1359	Puri	Puri	Orissa	Firuz Tughluq (s)	26:314
24.	1392-93	Sainthali	Gurgaon	Haryana	Bahadur K. Nahar (c)	3(1963-64):146
25.	1394	Idar	Sabar-K.	Gujarat	Muzaffar Khan (g)	14-3:177
26.	1395	Somnath	Junagadh	Gujarat	Muzaffar Khan	6-4:3
27.	c.1400	Paraspur	Srinagar	Kashmir	Sikandar (s)	14-3:648
28.	c.1400	Bijbehara	Srinagar	Kashmir	Sikandar	34:54
29.	c.1400	Tripuresvara	Srinagar	Kashmir	Sikandar	34:54
30.	c.1400	Martand	Anantnag	Kashmir	Sikandar	34:54
31.	1400-1	Idar	Sabar-K.	Gujarat	Muzaffar Shah	14-3:181
32.	1400-1	Diu	Amreli	Gujarat	Muzaffar Shah	6-4:5
33.	1406	Manvi	Raichur	Karnataka	Firuz Bahmani (s)	2(1962):57-58
34.	1415	Sidhpur	Mehsana	Gujarat	Ahmad Shah (s)	29:98-9
35.	1433	Delwara	Sabar-K.	Gujarat	Ahmad Shah	14-3:220-1
36.	1442	Kumbhalmir	Udaipur	Rajasthan	Mahmud Khalaji (s)	14-3:513
37.	1457	Mandalgarh	Bhilwara	Rajasthan	Mahmud Khalaji	6-4:134

Contd. ...

Contd. ...

No.	Date	Site	District	State	Agent	Source
38.	1462	Malan	Banaskantha	Gujarat	Ala al-Din Suhrab (c)	2(1963):28-29
39.	1473	Dwarka	Jamnagar	Gujarat	Mahmud Begdha (s)	14-3:259-61
40.	1478	Kondapalle	Krishna	AP	Md. II Bahmani (s)	6-2:306
41.	c.1478	Kanchi	Chinglepur	Tamil Nadu	Md. II Bahmani	6-2:308
42.	1505	Amod	Broach	Gujarat	Khalti Shah (g)	1(1933):36
43.	1489-1517	Nagarkot	Kangra	HP	Khawwas Khan (g)	35:81
44.	1507	Utgir	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	Sikandar Lodi (s)	14-1:375
45.	1507	Narwar	Shivpuri	MP	Sikandar Lodi	14-1:378
46.	1518	Gwalior	Gwalior	MP	Ibrahim Lodi (s)	14-1:402
47.	1530-31	Devarkonda	Nalgonda	AP	Quli Qutb Shah (s)	6-3:212
48.	1552	Narwar	Shivpuri	MP	Dilawar Khan (g)	4(June 1927):101-4
49.	1556	Puri	Puri	Orissa	Sulaiman Karrani (s)	28:413-15
50.	1575-76	Bankapur	Dharwar	Karnataka	Ali Adil Shah (s)	6-3:82-4
51.	1579	Ahobilam	Kumool	AP	Murahari Rao (c)	6-3:267
52.	1586	Ghoda	Poona	Maharashtra	Mir Md. Zaman	1:(1933-34):24
53.	1593	Cuddapah	Cuddapah	AP	Murtaza Khan (c)	6-3:274
54.	1593	Kalihasti	Chittoor	AP	I'tibar Khan (c)	6-3:277
55.	1599	Srikurman	Visakhapatnam	AP	Qutb Shahi (g)	32-5:1312
56.	1613	Pushkar	Ajmer	Rajasthan	Jahangir (e)	5:254

Contd. ...

Contd. ...

No.	Date	Site	District	State	Agent	Source
57.	1632	Benares	Benares	UP	Shah Jahan (e)	31:36
58.	1635	Orchha	Tikamgarh	MP	Shah Jahan	7:102-3
59.	1641	Srikakulam	Srikakulam	AP	Sher Md. Khan (c)	3(1953-54):68-69
60.	1642	Udayagiri	Nellore	AP	Ghazi Ali (c)	8:1385-86
61.	1653	Poonamalle	Chingleput	Tamil Nadu	Rustam B. Zulfiqar (c)	1(1937-38):53n2
62.	1655	Bodhan	Nizamabad	AP	Aurangzeb (p, g)	1(1919-20):16
63.	1659	Tuljapur	Osmanabad	Maharashtra	Afzal Khan (g)	16:9-10
64.	1661	Kuch Bihar	Kuch Bihar	Assam	Mir Jumla (g)	9:142-3
65.	1662	Devalgaon	Sibsagar	Assam	Mir Jumla	9:154, 156-57
66.	1662	Garhgaon	Sibsabar	Assam	Mir Jumla	36:249
67.	1664	Gwalior	Gwalior	MP	Mu'tamad Khan (g)	10:335
68.	1667	Akot	Akola	Maharashtra	Md. Ashraf (c)	2(1963):53-54
69.	1669	Benares	Benares	UP	Aurangzeb (e)	11:65-8; 13:88
70.	1670	Mathura	Mathura	UP	Aurangzeb	12:57-61
71.	1679	Khandela	Sikar	Rajasthan	Darab Khan (g)	12:107; 18:449
72.	1679	Jodhpur	Jodhpur	Rajasthan	Khan Jahan (c)	18:786; 12:108
73.	1680	Udaipur	Udaipur	Rajasthan	Ruhullah Khan (c)	15:129-30; 12:114-15
74.	1680	Chitor	Chitorgarh	Rajasthan	Aurangzeb	12:117
75.	1692	Cuddapah	Cuddapah	AP	Aurangzeb	1(1937-38):55

Contd. ...

Contd. ...

No.	Date	Site	District	State	Agent	Source
76.	1697-98	Sambhar	Jaipur	Rajasthan	Shah Sabz' Ali	19:157
77.	1698	Bijapur	Bijapur	Karnataka	Hamid al-Din Khan (c)	12:241
78.	1718	Surat	Surat	Gujarat	Haider Quli Khan (g)	1(1933):42
79.	1729	Cumbum	Kumool	AP	Muhammad Salih (g)	2(1959-60):65
80.	1729	Udaipur	West	Tripura	Murshid Quli Khan	30:7

Notes:

1. (e) emperor; (s) sultan; (g) governor; (c) commander; (p) crown prince.
2. (i) For Sl. Nos. 1-24, see Map A: Imperialism of the Delhi Sultanate, 1192-1394.
 (ii) For Sl. Nos. 25-55, see Map B: Growth of Regional Sultanates, 1394-1600.
 (iii) For Sl. Nos. 56-80, see Map C: Expansion and Reassertions of Mughal Authority, 1600-1760.

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III Anti-Hindu Hindus

After the partition of India in 1947, it should not have been difficult to bridge the gulf between Hindus and Muslims, if only there were not many anti-Hindu Hindus. *It is they* who nurture Muslim bigots and justify their wayward conduct. Remember that there is a paucity of non-clerical leadership amongst the Muslims. That vacuum in leadership is filled by anti-Hindu Hindus. It is difficult to think of their motivation other than emotional masochism. Which is rather like a psycho~sexual disorder in which an erotic release is achieved through having pain inflicted on oneself.

Dr Ram Manohar Lohia put it differently in "*The Guilty Men of India's Partition*": *It is one thing not to acknowledge the rape of one's mother, it is quite another to refuse to accept the result. While the Muslim erred in acknowledging both the rape and its results, the Hindu should be faulted for refusing to acknowledge either.*

Evidently, anti-Hindu Hindus derive satisfaction by inflicting humiliation upon their own community. Or else, how does one explain the phenomenon of journalist Kuldip Nayar, who had to run away to India from his home in Lahore in the wake of partition. Yet he writes and speaks for Pakistan day in and day out. On the floor of Parliament in December 1999, he said that it is but natural that the Pakistani ISI should terrorise Hindus in Jammu, because Indian RAW instigates agitations in Karachi. Why does Mr. Nayar not go back to his beloved home in Pakistan?

The intention is not to focus on any one person. There is a galaxy of groups and individuals who have held anti-Hindu views ranging from the communists to Jawaharlal Nehru to Mohandas Gandhi. There are intellectuals like Ms Romila Thapar, Gargi Chakravartty, Harbans Mukhia, Bipan Chandra and N.E. Balaram whose views make even more rabid reading. In a democratic society, every citizen is free to hold his opinions but no responsible person should twist facts to back up his views.



Photograph by N. Thiagarajan

21 Ghazni and Nehru

Did Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru downplay Sultan Mahmud's atrocities out of fear? Or, was it to please his Muslim friends?

The plunder of Somnath by Mahmud Ghazni in 1030 AD is known across the country. But except for some interested scholars, few know what historian Muhammad Nazim⁵¹ had to say:

The destruction of the temple of Somnath was looked upon as the crowning glory of Islam over idolatry, and Sultan Mahmud as the champion of the Faith, received the applause of all in the Muslim world. One poet outdid another in extolling the iconoclasm of Mahmud. Shykh Faridu'd Din Attar said that the Sultan preferred to be an idol breaker rather than an idol seller. While rejecting the offer of the Hindus to ransom the idol of Somnath with its weight in gold, Mahmud is supposed to have said 'I am afraid that on the Day of Judgement when all the idolaters are brought into the presence of Allah, he would say : bring Adhar and Mahmud together, one was the idol maker, the other idol seller'. Adhar or Ezra the uncle of Abraham, according to the Quran, made his living by carving idols.

On the other hand, Jawaharlal Nehru, in a speech at Panjim, now Panaji, Goa in 1963, observed that *the conflicts with Islam in north India specially were not religious conflicts, but political conflicts of kings wanting to conquer India. Religious conflicts were hardly any and Islam also began to be accepted as a religion of India.*

The reference in the speech was a general one. Let us see what Nehru⁵² wrote specifically about Somnath. In his letter dated 1st June, 1932 to his daughter, he wrote:

...it was in Somnath that he got the most treasure. For this was one of the great temples, and the offerings of centuries had accumulated there. It is said that thousands of people took refuge in the temple when Mahmud approached, in the hope that a miracle would happen and the god they worshipped would protect them. But miracles seldom occur, except in the imaginations of the faithful, and the temple was broken and looted by Mahmud and 50,000 people perished, waiting for the miracle which did not happen.

In another letter dated 26th April 1932, Nehru wrote that *you will find that after Islam began, for many hundred years Musalmans lived in all parts of India in perfect peace with their neighbours. They were welcomed when they came as traders and encouraged to settle down.*

In yet another letter dated 13th May, 1932, he observed that *many of the temples in the south even now seem to resemble citadels where people can defend themselves if attacked.* By implication, he meant that they proved to be provocative to the invaders. In the understanding of the author and that of most Hindus, a temple is the residence of an *avataar* of the *paramatma* and not merely a prayer hall like a mosque which *jehadis* with weapons are allowed to use.

In the course of his writings, Nehru often quotes Al-Beruni.⁵³ Let us see what this scholar had to say about Somnath:

The linga he raised was the stone of Somnath, for soma means the moon and natha means master, so that the whole word means master of the moon. The image was destroyed by Prince Mahmud, may God be merciful to him! AH 496. He ordered the upper part to be broken and the remainder to be transported to his residence, Ghazni with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels, and embroidered garments. Part I of it has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town, together with the Cakrasvamin, an idol of bronze, that had been brought from Taneshar. Another part of the idol from Somnath lies before the door of the mosque of Ghazni, on which people rub their feet to clean them from dirt and wet.

The works and views of Prof. Nazim as well as those of Al-Beruni leave no doubt that Mahmud Ghazni was driven by religious fanaticism. That greed and cruelty were only accompanying motives. Why should Nehru, a Hindu and a Brahmin to boot, conceal the fanaticism of an invader, whose own people like these scholars are candid in their praise of the desecration in the cause of Allah? Surely Nehru's contention was anti-Hindu.

The uncanny paradox was also carried into Mathura. Although this city of Sri Krishna was devastated earlier in 1017, Nehru deals with it later than Somnath in the same letter to his daughter of 1st June, 1932. But first let us see what Growse had to say: *In the middle of the city was a temple, larger and finer than the rest, to which neither painting nor description could do justice. Mahmud Ghazni had confirmed this view in anticipation 850 years earlier. Growse quoted Mahmud as writing: if any one wished to construct a building equal to it, he would not be able to do so without expending a hundred million dinars, and the work would occupy two hundred years, even though the most able and experienced workmen were employed. The city was given up to plunder for twenty days. Among the spoils are said to have been five great idols of pure gold with eyes of rubies and adornments of other precious stones, together with a vast number of smaller silver images, which, when broken up, formed a load for more than hundred camels. The total value of the spoils has been estimated at three million rupees; while the number of Hindus carried away into captivity exceeded 5,000.*

In spite of this adoration, Mahmud ordered that all temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground, wrote Growse. The contradiction may be explained by Mahmud's piety or fanaticism. Allah was above all love and beauty. And he had to be served by destroying all and any idols or their temples. For there was only one God, and no idol or temple should be there to divert any worshipper's devotion.

Now let us go to Nehru and his letter of 1st June, where he briefly writes about the city of Sri Krishna:

Of Mathura, Mahmud has given us a glimpse, which shows us what a great city it was. Writing to his Governor at Ghazni, Mahmud says: There are here (at Mathura) a thousand edifices as firm as the faith of the faithful; nor is it likely that this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of dinars, nor could such another be constructed under a period 200 years. This description of Mathura by Mahmud we read in an account given by Firdausi. Firdausi was a great Persian poet who lived in Mahmud's time.

Can any Hindu, least of all Jawaharlal Nehru, be more flippant about one of the holiest places which was treated in the unholy of ways?

22 *Is A Communist Always Anti-Hindu?*

The communist is primarily anti-nationalist, secondly anti-God and tertially anti-Hindu. In socio-political practice, however, he as well as the communist parties sound more anti-Hindu than anything else. The reason could be that to speak against nationalism would give a message of being anti-nationalist and might imply being anti-patriotic. On the other hand, to speak against God would hurt the sentiments of most people including the Muslims. His purpose was therefore achieved by speaking up against any socio-political movement which has a Hindu inspiration. In India, nationalism has to be aroused around the Hindu ethos. The devout Muslim is a supranationalist. The Sunni, in particular, gives his supreme loyalty to the world *ummah*.

Iran is the only country which could engage the sympathy of the Shias because all other Muslim countries are dominantly Sunni. In any case, Islam has a clear precedence over the nation. For the communist, the workers of the world are the *ummah* and the nation is looked upon as an instrument in the hands of the rich to exploit the poor. Appropriately, the communist anthem has been a song called Internationale. The result is that the supranationalist and the internationalist are allies after the dictum 'enemy's enemy is a friend'. Both are adversaries of nationalism and, in India, of the Hindu ethos, the mainspring of the nationalist sentiment in the country.

Before going further, it would be desirable to recall the track record of the communists in India during British days when one could afford to speak and work openly against nationalism. Go back to 9 August 1942 when Mahtama Gandhi called upon the British to quit India. Overstreet and Windmiller,⁵⁴ in their book *Communism in India*, University of Berkeley, 1958, wrote *the CPI (Communist Party of India) criticised the Quit India resolution as misguided and pernicious.*

Furthermore, Netaji Subhas and his movement were condemned as a fifth column. *Indian socialists were described as the advance guard of the Japanese Army.*

In those days, 1942 and after, communist praise was showered on the Muslim League. An example of such appreciation in the words of the CPI Central Committee member Sajjad Zaheer was: *It is a good and fine thing, a happy augury, for Indian Muslims and for India as a whole that the Muslim League continues to grow and gather around it millions of our liberty-loving people. In the increasing strength and capacity of the League to move the Muslim masses on the path of progress and democracy lies the salvation of millions of our Muslim countrymen...* By mid-1942, the Party was expressly committed to the general view that India was a multinational entity, and that the unqualified right of self-determination should be granted to each nationality. A Party statement of July asked: *What can be the basis of our national unity? Recognition of the principles of self-determination including the right of separation, for all the nationalities that inhabit our great sub-continent.*

A resolution of the September plenary meeting of the Central Committee definitively outlined the Party's new orientation. Its critical passage was as follows: *Every section of the Indian people which has a contiguous territory as its homeland, common historical tradition, common language, culture, psychological make-up, and common economic life would be recognized as a distinct nationality with the right to exist as an autonomous state within the free Indian Union or federation and will have the right to secede from it if it may so desire ... Thus free India of tomorrow would be a federation or union of autonomous states of the various nationalities such as the Pathans, Western Punjabis (dominantly Muslims), Sikhs, Sindhis, Hindustanis, Rajasthanis, Gujeratis, Bengalis, Assamese, Beharies, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamils, Karnatiks, Maharashtrians, Keralas, etc.*

The two scholars continued: *the resolution made it abundantly clear that those nationalities which were predominantly Muslim could secede. This would give to the Muslims wherever they are in an overwhelming majority in a contiguous territory which is their homeland, the right to form their autonomous states and even to separate if they so desire.* A year later, the Party was openly supporting Pakistan, and Zaheer said that Congressmen generally fail to see the anti-imperialist, liberationist role of the Muslim League, failed to see that the demand for Muslim self-determination or Pakistan is a just, progressive and national demand, and is the positive expression of the very freedom and democracy for which Congressmen have striven and undergone so much suffering all these years.

The Californian authors wondered what could have prompted the CPI to be so openly pro-Muslim, so pro-Pakistani? One explanation they gave was that the policy may have been prompted in part by an intention to encourage not Muslim separatism alone but all regional particularism throughout the subcontinent. The regional linguistic units of India, which no one but the CPI termed as *nationalities*, had in many cases shown strong particularist impulses on which a political party might easily capitalize. At this point the CPI may have dimly recognized that the time had come, in the political development of India, to associate itself with these impulses, as it had earlier associated itself with the nationalist impulse. Bourgeois nationalism was on the verge of achieving freedom and establishing an independent state; in preparation for its struggle against that state, the CPI could have no better weapon than regional separation, which could weaken or even destroy a bourgeois government in New Delhi. At one stage the Party openly proposed that Bengal be a sovereign country, in addition to India and Pakistan. It also hinted at independent status for the Sikhs. But it was only after the war that this larger import of the Party's policy – its identification with regional particularism – emerged fully.

The CPI's anti-Indianism did not end with supporting the multiple partition of India. In 1944, General Secretary P.C. Joshi wrote articles wherein he advocated not only the creation of Pakistan but also an undivided sovereign Bengal. As the scholars from California have written: *In Bengal as a whole the majority of the population was Muslim but only by a slight margin, the eastern and northern districts being pre-dominantly Muslim while the others were predominantly Hindu. Earlier, the Party had proposed that Bengal be partitioned accordingly, but the League demanded that Bengal go to Pakistan. Now Joshi declared that Bengal should be a united sovereign and independent state, which would maintain relations of mutual assistance and friendly economic collaboration with both India and Pakistan. This solution was clearly advantageous to the League since it would again thus gain influence over all of Bengal rather than over the Muslim-majority districts only.* In fact, the new state would probably make common cause with Pakistan, which was not mentioned by Joshi.

The anti-Hindu real politik of the CPI had no limit. To quote again from the same book: *With regard to the other disputed area, the six eastern districts of Punjab (Central Punjab), Joshi proposed a solution which was equally advantageous to the Muslim League. In all the disputed districts the Sikhs constituted a large minority, and in all but one the Sikhs and Hindus together formed a majority; in but one were the Muslims in the majority, and that by only a small margin. Yet Joshi declared that the best solution would be to give all six districts to Pakistan,*

adding the suggestion that there be a "Muslim-Sikh Pact" which would guarantee the rights of the Sikhs under a Muslim government. The Sikhs have nothing to fear, he declared.

This political behaviour is ironical when one remembers that conceptually the Hindu explanation of life borders on the agnostic whereas Islam asserts that there is god and Allah as the one and only god. To assert that there is god is to rely entirely on faith, if not also conjecture. Sticklers might even describe this attitude as irrational. Mind you, the Marxists are equally irrational in their insistence that there is no god and therefore they are atheists. Without having been able to verify, to assert the existence or non-existence of god is equally irrational.

In contrast, the Hindu explanation has no concept of god; only of *paramatma* or the total of all individual souls. To that extent all the living beings are partners of the divine. The so called Hindu godheads like Sri Ram, Sri Krishna or Lord Buddha were *avataars* or men who returned to earth to redeem the quality of human life which had declined at the time. They are called godheads at the level of *bhakti* or devotion by the average person. In fact, *sanatan dharma* is agnostic; there is neither an assertion nor a denial of there being god. The Buddhist and Jain explanations confirm this view more categorically. Is that not so much more rational than the insistence that there is no god?

It is therefore not surprising that the Hindu is not averse to recognising the contribution of Marx to human thought. Also the considerable work Lenin did for the poor. More than anyone else, it was he who made the world realise that the poor also have a right, an equal right, in society. It was only after the Russian revolution, which he led, that Europe and America became conscious of the welfare of the poor and, as it happened, overtook communist societies in making the poor less poor, if not also rich.

That however does not justify the hypocrisy of most communists. Say a family name is Chatterjee which is the modernised version of Chattopadhyaya which in turn is the Bengali version of Chaturvedi. Or he whose family has studied the four vedas. Doesn't that sound very Hindu, if not also Brahmin and *sanatan*? Say the first name is Sita Ram. That is even more emphatically Hindu. Do not underrate the value of a name. It is a brand equity. It is among the first things a family gives a baby soon after its birth. Without it, the baby would not have an identity. How can one carry the identity of Sita Ram Chatterjee and at the same time spend his time running down the Hindu ethos as communal, revivalist, obscurantist and what not? What incidentally does he declare on the passport for his religion?

23 Are Some Intellectuals Perverse?

The author and his colleagues were discussing issues between the two major communities in India. The conversation was progressing smoothly when a leftist friend, Sitaram Ghoshal, appeared and hijacked the discussion towards autonomy in Kashmir. Was it not desirable that a nationalist, and a valley Muslim could see eye to eye on several issues? On some others they were going to agree to disagree. Yet with the entry of Ghoshal, the dialogue snapped. He was hell bent on giving the valley complete autonomy except for two or three subjects. Little did he seem to realise that he was falling straight into the Pakistani trap. What, they claim, they wanted was self-determination for the Kashmiris.

If you hear the leftists uncritically, they sound so sweet and reasonable. After all, they are only pleading for the will of the Kashmiris to be allowed a free run. The Pakistanis themselves, as it were, were looking for nothing. Little did it dawn on Ghoshal that in case autonomy was granted, the next step would be the opening of the Line of Control (LoC) due to the supposed demand of the people of the two sides of the line to meet and mingle. There would then be a loud outcry for amalgamation between Pakistan occupied Kashmir and the Valley. Islamabad would be pleased. What would New Delhi or Srinagar say or do at that stage? The next step would be an orchestrated public outcry for the status of a protectorate under Pakistan.

The author cannot help but share with the reader what he has come across recently. Ms Romila Thapar⁵⁵ has written:

Mahmud of Ghazni is primarily associated in most standard histories as the despoiler of temples and the breaker of idols. The explanation for this activity is readily provided by the fact that he was a Muslim – the assumption being that only a Muslim would despoil temples and break idols since the Islamic religion is

opposed to idol worship. There is the further assumption in this that all Muslim rulers could be potential idol-breakers unless some other factors prevented them from doing so. Little attempt is made to search for further explanations regarding Mahmud's behaviour. Other reasons can be found when one turns to the tradition of Hindu kings and enquire whether any of them were despoilers of temples and idol-breakers.

That Mahmud Ghazni was both an idol breaker and a robber is confirmed by Ms Thapar herself. By providing further explanations regarding Mahmud's behaviour, she has alleged that he was a robber and not primarily an idol breaker. The iconoclast had an ulterior motive. Later on she goes on to allege that King Harsh Vardhan also used to desecrate temples in order to appropriate wealth. The author wonders what relationship Ms Thapar had with Mahmud Ghazni, that she should take such extraordinary pains to ostensibly defend his crimes. The author would not defend him even if he was his own blood brother.

Here is how a fellow Muslim praises Mahmud Ghazni. Prof. Muhammad Nazim⁵⁶ has observed: *the destruction of the temple of Somnath was looked upon as the crowning glory of Islam over idolatry, and Sultan Mahmud as the champion of the Faith, received the applause of all the Muslim world. One poet has outdone another in extolling the iconoclasm of Mahmud. Shykh Faridu'd Din Attar said that the Sultan preferred to be an idol breaker rather than an idol seller. While rejecting the offer of the Hindus to ransom the idol of Somnath with its weight in gold, Mahmud is supposed to have said I am afraid that on the Day of Judgement when all the idolaters are brought into the presence of Allah He would say: bring Adhar and Mahmud together, one was idol maker, the other idol breaker. Adhar or Ezra, the uncle of Abraham, according to the Quran, made his living by carving idols. The former would go to heaven while the latter be condemned to hell.*

If nothing else, one cannot help contrasting the forthrightness of Nazim and the perversion of Thapar.

In Gargi Chakravarty,⁵⁷ we have another lady, also sold on the good intentions of Mahmud Ghazni. She has said: *Mahmud of Ghazni's activities on this score have built a negative impression about the role of Muslims in general. But he was not a religious fanatic which is amply proved from the fact that he never forced the people whom he looted to accept the creed, which they did not believe. A piece of historical information is important to note in this context: His Indian soldiers were free to blow sankh and bow before their idols in imperial Ghazni.*

Her sympathy was not confined to Mahmud Ghazni but extended much beyond. She did not even ignore Timur Lang. She justified the barbaric massacre by the Muslim invaders with the argument that they were equally cruel to the Muslim people of Central Asia. To quote her:

Muslim invaders are being accused of being fanatic and barbaric towards the Hindus, leaving a trail of destruction of Hindu temples, of plunder and loot. Some of the invaders were no doubt plunderers and their sole obsession was loot and plunder of the invaded land, no matter what the faith of those who inhabited it. For example, Mahmud of Ghazni, Muhammad of Ghor and Timur of Samarkand in their unchecked barbarism massacred the Muslim masses and rulers too of Central Asia. The history writers of the Sangh Parivar evade this very important fact of history. The principal objective of those plunderers was to enrich their treasury. When they invaded India there was hardly any Muslim population in those areas. Had there been, they too would not have been spared, as is proved by the fact that people of the whole Central Asia who were their coreligionists were not spared from their brutal atrocities. The intensity of their barbarism in Central Asia was no less than in North India. In fact Timur was more cruel in Central Asia on its Muslim population than what he did in India. At a later period plunderers like Nadirshah and Ahmedshah Abdali massacred Muslims as well.

The same book by People's Publishing House is embellished with the contribution of another apologist of the Muslim iconoclast. In his essay, Harbans Mukhia⁵⁸ says: *Interestingly the orthodox Hindu historians today revel no less in describing with great fanfare the temples demolished by the sultans than the orthodox Muslim contemporary historians did in their own time. It is obvious that the demolition of temples could not have been meant for winning over the Hindus to Islam. For, how can one imagine that the way of winning over the heart of a people is to go and demolish its temples? The demolition could at best have created a hatred, if anything, certainly not love, for Islam in the hearts of the Hindu subjects. Therefore it could not have been meant for converting them, but for some other objective. It is significant that generally the temples are demolished only in the territory of an enemy; they are not demolished within the sultan's own empire, unless the temples became centres of a conspiracy or a rebellion against the state as they did during Aurangzeb's reign. Thus the demolition of temples in enemy-territory was symbolic of conquest by the sultan.*

The author has come across another Hindu historian who delights in describing temple demolition by the Sultan. Many a writer does complain but no Hindu feels

happy. An anti-Hindu like Mukhia may well do so. Who has ever told him that Muslim invaders and many of the rulers provoked the hatred of Hindus? Most Hindus might not carry hatred on their lips, but in their heart of hearts make no mistake, most Hindus hate Muslims.

Vrindavan was very much a part of Aurangzeb's empire. Can Mukhia tell us who in that temple town, which is dedicated to Krishna, conspired or rebelled against the empire which provoked Aurangzeb to have Gobind Dev mandir cut into half and build a *mehrab* on the roof of the lower portion? According to an article in the *Calcutta Review* quoted by Growse: *Aurangzeb had often remarked about a very bright light shining in the far distant south east horizon and in reply to his enquiries regarding it, was told that it was a light burning in a temple of great wealth and magnificence at Vrindavan. He accordingly resolved that it should be put out and soon after sent some troops to the place who plundered and threw down as much of the temple as they could and then erected on the top of the ruins a mosque wall where, in order to complete the desecration, the emperor is said to have offered his prayers.*

Yet another distinguished historian Bipin Chandra, in his essay published in the same book has pleaded for downgrading our national leaders. In his words:

We live in cliches so far as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananda, Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Lokamanya Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Gandhi and others are concerned. It has become a tradition with our mass media, school text-books, All India Radio, etc. to uncritically praise them. Consequently, the communalists, and others can exploit their negative features. We never tell the people, especially the young, that these great men, being men, had imperfect understanding and also imperfect actions.

The hero-myths-all of the major heroes: Rana Pratap, Shivaji and Guru Gobind Singh, belonged to medieval India and had fought against Mughal authority – have done as much to underline secularism and national integration as any other ideological factor. At one stroke, and in a sort of immanent fashion, these hero-myths proved the case for the two-nation theory or the basic communal approach. By what definition are they 'national' heroes struggle and their struggle 'national'? Because they were fighting against foreigners? How were the Mughals foreigners? Because they were Muslims. What was the uniting principle in the 'nationalism' of Rana Pratap, Shivaji and Guru Gobind Singh? Their being Hindus or non-Muslims. Thus, the hero-myths spontaneously generated communalism.

Not satisfied by denigrating national leaders by a step or two, Bipin Chandra proceeds to attack the luminaries of the medieval period. He blames Rana Pratap, Shivaji and Guru Gobind Singh for the two-nation theory that emerged during the middle of the 20th century. How objective or fair Chandra was, is best left to the reader to decide.

N.E. Balaram⁵⁹ writing on Hindutva has propounded an unusual thesis. In his words: *Any careful examination will show that there were no Hindu and Muslim labels till the thirteenth century. They were two different faiths and they did not quarrel. The term Hindu was used by the Muslim rulers in early days to denote the zamindars, landlords and the Brahmin priests. The common people were not referred to as Hindus. Officers under the Delhi Sultanate in 14th century AD called the zamindars Hindus to denote more their aristocracy than their religion. Zia Barani, a historian of the period in his book Fatwa-i-Jahandari uses the term Hindu in several places, mostly to desirable zamindars. The Hindu-Muslim identities came only gradually.*

Perhaps Balaram is confused. It is possible that in the 13th century, Hindus did not quarrel with the Muslims for the simple reason that they were the traumatised subjects. They had been conquered by the sword of Islam and they harboured feelings of hatred for what had been done to them and their *mandirs*.

In the 20th century, it is true that in the USA all Indians from the subcontinent were described as Hindu; Hindu-Hindus, Hindu-Muslims, Hindu-Christians, Hindu-Parsis and even Hindu-Jews. The word 'Hindu' was synonymous with Indian for the simple reason that in America an Indian was the Red Indian. Even in Spain today, all Indians are identified as Hindu for the same reason as in the USA.

During the author's visit to China in April 2001, no Chinese that his family came across registered what they meant when they said they were Indians. Thereafter they spontaneously asked the Indian team whether we meant that we were Hindu. The author does not think that any of the Chinese had our religion on their mind when they asked this question.

24 Are Some Eminent Indians Anti-Hindu?

The toxin afflicting some Hindus that makes them anti-Hindu can be seen at various levels of the intelligentsia. Let us look at what our Nobel laureate Amartya Sen⁶⁰ has felt and expressed. The author realises that he is a champion of what he considers to be secularism. The author is not sure which definition of the word he might choose if he was pressed. Whether the Indian idea of equality among faiths or the Marxist conception of abolishing worship? Or, would he believe in the medieval European definition of the concept of secularism? It represents the separation of the church from the state. Or, in simple terms, the opposite of theocracy? Whatever be Sen's choice, the fact is that since being awarded the Nobel prize, the author has read again and again in the press Sen's criticism of what he has termed as Hindu fundamentalists. In his inaugural address at the Indian History Congress held in Calcutta University in January 2001, he said:

This is especially so if the writing of history is manoeuvred to suit a slanted agenda in contemporary politics. There are organised attempts in our country, at this time, to do just that, with arbitrary augmentation of a narrowly sectarian view of India's past, along with undermining its magnificently multireligious and heterodox history. Among other distortions, there is also a systematic confounding here of mythology with history. An extraordinary example of this has been the interpretation of the Ramayana, not as a great epic, but as documentary history, which can be invoked to establish property rights over places and sites possessed and owned by others. The Ramayana, which Rabinranath Tagore had seen as a wonderful legend (the story of the Ramayana is to be interpreted, as Tagore put it, not as a matter of historical fact but in the plane of ideas) and in fact as a marvellous parable of "reconciliation," is now made into a legally authentic account that gives some members of one community an alleged entitlement to particular sites and land, amounting to a license to tear down the religious places of other communities. Thomas de Quincey has an interesting essay called "Murder Considered as

One of the Fine Arts.” *Rewriting of history for bellicose use can also, presumably, be a very fine art.*

The Nobel laureate has evidently, strayed into unknown territory. He has condemned the Hindu claim to the site where stood the Babri edifice. Does he know how many *mandirs* were summarily converted into *masjids* and *dargahs* especially between the time Muhammad Ghauri installed Qutbuddin Aibak on the throne of Delhi at the end of the 12th century and the advent of the Lodis during the middle of the 15th century? Thereafter a large number were completely destroyed and on some of the sites, *masjids* were designed afresh but built with the rubble of the desecrated *mandirs*.

These contentions are not the author’s but their desecrations have been recorded at great length by archaeologists and architectural surveyors of the stature of Cunningham and Fergusson. The former has left behind 23 volumes of his survey reports. Why is it that none of this material nor any of the evidence contained therein finds a place in our history books? Is the author to understand that according to Sen it was legitimate for anti-Hindus to distort history, but for Hindus to rewrite history and include what was left out amounting to scholastic distortion?

The Nobel laureate is a philosopher and an economist, but his scholarship in history is not widely known. His foray into the unknown is therefore not difficult to forgive. Dr Sarvapalli Gopal,⁶¹ on the other hand, has for long years been considered a *prima donna* among historians in India. He has made several interesting points. For example, he has described the controversy over the Babri edifice as contrived in recent times having no historical basis. He goes on: *The identification of present day Ayodhya with Ramjanmabhumi is a matter of faith and not of evidence. There is again no conclusive proof that the mosque built at the time of Babur was on a temple site or that a temple had been destroyed to build it.*

What appears to be intellectually strange is that Gopal rejects the evidence of visitors to Ayodhya. Even a German visitor called Tieffenthaler’s opinion is rejected as based on a rather garbled version of a local story. He then proceeds to run down the opinion of British individuals. To quote: *British officials and writers began to give wide circulation and lend authority to the story that on Babur’s orders a temple had been destroyed and a mosque built on the site. This fitted in with the British understanding of India.* Later in the paragraph, Gopal offers a corny defence of the foreign iconoclast in the words: *Muslim rulers in India often*

acted on non-religious grounds and, like all rulers everywhere, were primarily interested in the maintenance of their political power.

In the following paragraph, he tries to divert attention by quoting an economic historian, Amiya Bagchi, whose essay in the book stated that the phenomenon of communalism had an economic basis. How this discovery of Bagchi helps Gopal to assure himself that the Babri edifice was built on land that was rightfully of Muslim ownership is beyond understanding. He continues to swing in a non-relevant orbit by making statements such as: *considering that the main attack on secular objectives in free India has come from the ranks of Hindu bigotry, it is worth mentioning that the teachings of Hinduism, at their best are in full accordance with such secular practicesIt is a religion without circumference.*

Not satisfied with the effect of his argument, Gopal finally resorts to quoting historian Romila Thapar whose anti-Hindu views are legend. She felt: *Our media today is replete with myth wearing the mask of history and myth carefully chosen to project particular obscurantist versions that help to glorify aggressive fundamentalism. The television versions of Ramayana and the Mahabharata and, in sharp contrast, the failure to present a serious and nonpartisan discussion of the Ramjannabhumi issue, have all contributed to the heightened excitement which has led to the recent increase in communal rioting, with over a thousand Muslims killed in the last few months.*

The author would have hesitated to call the lady anti-Hindu, had it not been for the bankruptcy of her reasoning and the profligacy of her prejudice. How can a thousand Muslims be killed merely because the great epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata were serialised on television? There were no Muslims or, in fact, no non-Hindus in India at the time when the epics were written. In any case the author has watched many episodes and found nothing provocative in any of them. Thapar needs to be reminded that these epics were written centuries before the emergence of either Islam or even Christianity.

Quoting Thapar did not gratify Gopal. He therefore went on to make a sweeping statement on the nature of communalism. To quote: *The test of success was not what the Hindus thought but how the Muslims and other communities felt, just as, while minorities might turn communal out of a sense of grievances, communalism of the majority community was dangerous and, masquerading as nationalism, was in fact a form of Fascism. There could sometimes be justification for the minorities to be communal, there was none for the majority.* He has implied elsewhere that it

was Hindu majoritarianism that led to the partition of India. It is for the followers of the majority to assuage the feelings of the Muslim minority.

As far as is known in the years preceding partition, it was the Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi that led Hindu opinion and, above all, Jawaharlal Nehru and his February 1946 statement in Bombay which is alleged to have put the last nail in the coffin of India's oneness. Surely, even his worst detractors have never described Nehru as either a majoritarian or a communalist. Incidentally, has Gopal ever defined fascism or even come across an explanation of that ideology? Had he done so, he would have known that fascism represents class collaboration, as distinct from communism which symbolises class conflict and capitalism which is accused of causing class exploitation. Surely, a scholar of the stature of Gopal would not like to sit on the same bench as a lumpen leftist, who accuses almost anyone he hates as a fascist.

Here is another example of an anti-Hindu Hindu. His name was Susobhan Sarkar⁶² who was a professor of history and taught for long years at the Presidency College in Calcutta. He wrote:

I shall end the discussion by drawing attention to two particular conclusions of Mr Majumdar. The first conclusion is that Muslim rule was a foreign rule in India because the Hindus were perpetually oppressed and were fully conscious of the fact. Even if the two 'proofs' are admitted, the conclusion does not follow. Is there no room for oppression under native, as distinct from foreign, rule? In the 16th century, the German Anabaptists or Spanish Protestants were almost rooted out, the English Catholics for ages had "no rights at all in religious or social matters." Were those countries under foreign rule at the time? Was the exploitation of the people impossible under native Hindu rule? Is interference with religion the one undeniable evidence of oppression and servitude?

Muslim rule, we believe, was no alien government like the British. This means merely that the Indian Mussalmans had no other country of their own; they did not send their plunder abroad; the policy of Muslim rulers was not governed by the interests of any foreign country; a large part of the inhabitants of the land were the coreligionists of the kings. Though of foreign origin, the Muslim leaders very soon had no other country of their own. True, Islam arose outside India and had universal pretensions – but then no one would hold that under medieval Christianity with similar characteristics the peoples of Europe lived under foreign rule. The equa-

tion – Hindu culture = Indian culture – is nothing more than the expression of a particular judgement and point of view.

Dr Majumdar's second conclusion is that:

...the Hindu-Muslim antagonism in India "was perpetual," that Jinnah's "two nations theory" is nearer historical truth than any amity "between the two communities." There is no point in denying Hindu-Muslim differences. But are the two terms, difference and antagonism, coterminous? It is obviously true that because of the differences conflicts often did break out. But how can one hold that conflict was here the only truth? In certain reigns, or particular regions, conflicts did flare up; but at other times, or elsewhere, conflict would die down. Is this not the more correct picture of things? Even in those days it was also quite possible and natural that, in spite of the differences, antagonism would be submerged in many matters under the pressure of common economic interests. If we come across such instances in medieval times, surely it would not be improper today to lay some emphasis on such trends. The totality of historical events everywhere does reveal a quantum of mutual strife and the quest after petty interests. Surely this does not prevent us from holding up to view the brighter aspect of old societies. In other words, here also we cannot avoid the evaluation of events and the influence of associated points of view. To deny the Hindu-Muslim differences is tantamount to a denial of facts; but to stress the instances of mutual cooperation rather than conflicts is a question of historical evaluation. Of course, the historian must not invent events, for ignoring primary "facts" can only produce imaginative history.

The anathema about infidels pronounced by Muslim theoreticians cannot of course be the final word. We have also to consider how far it was possible for Muslim rulers to enforce such theories. The outpourings of scholars must, like courtiers' eulogies, be taken with a grain of salt. Who would take the denunciatory verses of Manusamhita, directed against Sudras and women, as literal expressions of state policy?

That is why one does demur to the protest against the festival commemorating Amir Khasru. The celebration must have been in honour of his literary talent; it must be meaningless only if such talent was non-existent. But surely we cannot ignore talent on the ground of militant religious zeal of the person concerned. Do we dismiss today the spokesmen of medieval European culture on the ground of their religious narrowness? Amir Khasru might have been an anti-Hindu bigot, but he also did write about royal treasures drenched in the tears of the subjects.

Jawaharlal Nehru⁶³ went far ahead of even Susobhan Sarkar. While speaking on the future of Goa at Panjim, now Panaji, he said: *The conflicts with Islam in north India specially were not religious conflicts, but political conflicts of kings wanting to conquer India. Religious conflicts were hardly any and Islam also settled down as a religion of India.*

If there was no religious conflict, why was it that thousands of temples were desecrated and many of them were either converted or recycled into mosques? Did Nehru know that there is hardly any significant *mandir* in north India which is older than 1939, when the Birla temple was inaugurated in New Delhi by Gandhiji. Every significant temple built before the Islamic invasion was destroyed. That there were many large temples which were built in ancient times can be seen by looking at the Quwwatul Islam mosque near Qutb Minar, Adhai Din Ka Jhopra at Ajmer, by visiting the Atala Devi masjid at Jaunpur, Bhojshala and the Lat masjids at Dhar, Bijamandal mosque at Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh, and so on.

After having himself led the Indian side for signing partition in 1947, how could Nehru, in 1963, make such an assertion; *that religious conflicts were hardly any and Islam also settled down as a religion of India?* Would anyone deny that the desire for partition was to have a Dar-ul-Islam? Nehru was reluctant to concede that religion was the basis of politics after having repeatedly ridiculed the idea of Muslims being a separate nation in his own writings especially in his autobiography.

Be it Amartya Sen, be he Sarvapalli Gopal, be he Sushobhan Sarkar, none of these gentlemen was ever in politics. In fact, each of them was or is an academican. To that extent, they can all be possibly excused for not being realistic. On the other hand, Rajmohan Gandhi⁶⁴ has the distinction of the blood of the Mahatma as well as Chakravarti Rajagopalachari flowing in his veins. Neither of these great men could ever be accused of being out of touch with ground realities. Yet, he contends that the average Hindu accepted the invader Muslim as his natural king because Bhishma Pitamah had in the Mahabharata said *that the king is appointed by (God) Vishnu himself and he partakes of his divinity and is, therefore, to be obeyed.* Such an extraordinary justification for accepting an invader as a legitimate monarch has never been articulated before.

Gandhi proceeds to enumerate the causes of partition. One of them was the insecurity experienced by the Muslims by living amongst majority Hindus. To quote: *Fuelled by the insecurities of Muslims living amidst Hindu majorities, the drive for Pakistan had been led by men like Jinnah and Liaqat and by others in the Muslim*

League who now were Muhajirs in Pakistan. If he was correct, how is it that most of the Muslims stayed behind in India, and evidently still prefer to be here rather than go across to Pakistan? When one proceeds further and comes across what Mahatma Gandhi thought and said on the Hindu Muslim question, one is ready to excuse his grand child for being naive. Read what he told his secretary, Mahadev Desai in 1918. *Though we do say that Hindus and Muslims are brothers, I cannot conceive of their being brothers today... Something within tells me that Hindus and Muslims are going to unite as brothers one day, that there is no other course open to them and they have but to be brothers. If we go on remembering old scores, we would feel that unity is impossible but at any cost we ought to forget the past.* This is quoted by grandson Rajmohan.

As the president of the Khilafat movement, Gandhiji's closest associate was Maulana Muhammad Ali. Yet to the surprise of many, he repeated to the audience at Aligarh as well as Ajmer that *however pure Mr. Gandhi's character may be, he must appear to me from the point of view of religion inferior to any Mussalman, even though he be without character.* When asked to clarify by members of another audience at Aminabagh park in Lucknow, the Maulana asserted that *yes, according to my religion and creed, I do hold an adulterous and a fallen Mussalman to be better than Mr Gandhi,* as reported by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.⁶⁵ Dissatisfied with the progress at trying to retain the decrepit Khalifa, who was also the Sultan of Turkey, on the throne, in the aftermath of his defeat in World War I, the Moplahs of Malabar area of, what is now Kerala, resorted to butchering Hindus in 1921. In the words of Ambedkar *the blood curdling atrocities committed by the Moplas in Malabar against the Hindus were indescribable. To rub salt on the Hindu wounds, several Khilafat leaders were so misguided as to pass resolutions of congratulations to the Moplas on the brave fight conducted for the sake of religion. Instead of condemning the Moplas, Gandhi complimented them as the brave God fearing Moplas who were fighting for, what they considered as, religion and in a manner which they considered as religious.* This speaks volumes as to how far the great Mahatma went in sounding anti-Hindu for the sake of forgiving criminals.

25 *Ambedkar, a True Hindu*

According to Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji *was a Hindu and an Indian, the greatest in many generations, and he was proud of being a Hindu and an Indian*. He said this in a broadcast on 14th February, 1948. What the Mahatma wrote, said and did is widely known. The track record of Babasaheb Ambedkar as a Hindu is not so well known. His popular image is that of a *dalit* leader and a constitutional guru. How much he felt, thought and pleaded for the interests of Hindus therefore deserves recounting.

Babasaheb was one of the few Hindus, if not the only one, who foresaw the consequences of not letting Muslims have their Dar-ul-Islam. He therefore openly and in cold print favoured partition and in precise detail by 1940. He did this almost on the morrow of the resolution demanding Pakistan which was passed by the Muslim League at its Lahore session on 23rd March 1940. He was clear in his view that partition without an exchange of population was worse than partition. His reasoning was impeccable. To him dividing the subcontinent was to solve its communal conflict. The Communal Award was given in 1932 when Ramsay MacDonal was the Prime Minister of Great Britain. The award gave the Muslims what they had demanded. Their weightage as well as their separate electorates were retained and in addition they were given the statutory majority of seats in the provinces in which they were the majority population.

At the time there were five Muslim majority and nine Hindu majority provinces. Since the Hindus had nothing comparable to the Muslim League, the Congress presumed to lead every one including the Hindus. It did not believe in separate electorates. In fact it had continually insisted on joint electorates for all communities, and had strongly objected to any community being given a majority of seats guaranteed by the constitution. The privileges which the Muslims had been given had no meaning for the Congress and its followers.

In Ambedkar's⁶⁶ perception, in the provinces of Punjab, North West Frontier, Sind, Bengal and Baluchistan, Muslim governments could treat Hindu minorities as they wished, knowing fully well that they need not fear retaliation in the other provinces as they would have secular governments. Hindu minorities in the Muslim provinces also insisted on joint electorates although the Communal Award ignored their feelings. It is interesting to recall what Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had to say as President of the Muslim League session held in Calcutta during 1927. In that speech the Maulana declared:

That by the Lucknow Pact they had sold away their interests. The Delhi proposals of March last opened the door for the first time to the recognition of the real rights of Mussalmans in India. The separate electorates granted by the Pact of 1916 only ensured Muslim representation, but what was vital for the existence of the community was the recognition of its numerical strength. Delhi opened the way to the creation of such a state of affairs as would guarantee to them in the future of India a proper share. Their existing small majority in Bengal and the Punjab was only a census figure, but the Delhi proposals gave them for the first time five provinces of which no less than three (Sind, the Frontier Province and Baluchistan) contained a real overwhelming Muslim majority. If the Muslims did not recognise this great step they were not fit to live. There would now be nine Hindu provinces against five Muslim provinces, and whatever treatment Hindus accorded in the nine provinces, Muslims would accord the same treatment to Hindus in the five provinces. Was not this a great gain? Was not a new weapon gained for the assertion of Muslim rights?

Babasaheb felt that the Communal Award meant that the Hindu minorities would be hostages and at the mercy of the five Muslim majority provincial governments. This, he felt was a strong enough argument in favour of partition. The scheme for Pakistan had been conceived by one Rehmat Ali in 1933 who had advocated partition. Ambedkar immediately noted that merely the formation of Pakistan would not ensure safety for the Hindus in Muslim majority areas. In fact, their condition might worsen, because the hostages could at least appeal to the central government about their grievances whereas in Pakistan, there would be no impartial central government to turn to. He recalled that the Hindus in Pakistan could then be in the same position as the Armenians under the Turks or the Jews in Czarist Russia or in Nazi Germany.

Babasaheb was perceptive enough to realise that the evil was not partition, but the boundaries of the provinces which did not reflect, nor were they consistent with the profile of Hindu Muslim populations. The boundaries had to be altered; Punjab and Bengal had to be bifurcated. Even then, some Hindus would get left behind in Paki-

stan and many Muslims would be scattered across Hindustan. All these would then have to be moved in a planned manner so that Hindus and Sikhs came away to Hindustan and Muslims moved to the territory of Pakistan. This was the gist of Ambedkar's formula. Nevertheless, it would be useful to quote him: *that the transfer of minorities is the only lasting remedy for communal peace is beyond doubt. If that is so, there is no reason why Hindus and Muslims should keep on trading in safeguards which have proved so unsafe. That, if small countries with limited resources like Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria were capable of such an undertaking, there is no reason to suppose that what they did cannot be accomplished by Indians. After all, the population involved is inconsiderable and it would be a height of folly to give up a sure way to communal peace because some obstacles in it require to be removed.*

Babasaheb was convinced that the secret of a happy and successful state lay in homogeneity. That was the lesson also taught by the histories of Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. Many of the countries on the map of Europe after World War I were given safeguards for the welfare of minorities. Their experience, however, showed that the safeguards did not save the minorities. The same old policy of exterminating minorities continued. Hence an exchange of minorities was found to be about the only solution.

There was another factor which caused Ambedkar a great deal of anxiety. Basing his conclusions on the facts provided in the Simon Commission Report, he found that more than half the soldiers of the then Indian Army were from the North West Frontier and West Punjab and most of them were Muslim. Although the British Indian government justified the profile of recruitment with their theory of martial and non-martial classes, yet the fact was that during the great rebellion of 1857, the people of these areas remained loyal to the British whereas soldiers recruited by the East India Company from the Indo-Gangetic plains were the ones that actually revolted. This was the conclusion of a Special Army Survey in 1879 which observed that the distinction between martial and non-martial classes were indistinct.

The Khilafat committee, in its anxiety to safeguard Pan Islamism had enunciated the principle that the Indian Army should not be used against a Muslim power. The Muslim League had endorsed this principle. In the words of Ambedkar *even Theodore Morrison, writing in 1899, was of the opinion that the views held by the Mahomedans (certainly the most aggressive and truculent of the peoples of India) are alone sufficient to prevent the establishment of an independent Indian Government. Were the Afghan to descend from the north upon an autonomous India, the Mahomedans, instead of uniting with the Sikhs and Hindus to repel him, would be*

drawn by all the ties of kinship and religion to join his flag. The Hindus, he continued, could find themselves between the devil and the deep sea so far as the defence of India was concerned. If India remains as one whole, what would happen? The issue might sound remote today, but remember that in 1919 the protagonists of the Khilafat movement had actually gone to the extent of inviting the Amir of Afghanistan to invade India.

Even the cost benefit factor did not escape Babasaheb although he was not a financial expert. As he put it: *The Pakistan area which is the main recruiting ground of the present Indian Army contributes very little to the central exchequer. The main contribution comes from the provinces of Hindustan. In fact it is the money contributed by the provinces of Hindustan which enables the Government of India to carry out its activities in the Pakistan provinces. The Pakistan provinces are a drain on the provinces of Hindustan. Not only do they contribute very little to the Central Government but they receive a great deal from the Central Government. The revenue of the Central Government amounts to Rs. 121 crore. Of this about Rs. 52 crore are annually spent on the army. In what area is this amount spent? Who pays the bulk of this amount of Rs. 52 crore? The bulk of this amount of Rs. 52 crore which is spent on the army is spent over the Muslim army drawn from the Pakistan area. Now the bulk of this amount of Rs. 52 crore is contributed by the Hindu provinces and is spent on an army from which the Hindus, who pay for it, are excluded! How many Hindus are aware of this tragedy?*

It is time now to briefly recall what Mahatma Gandhi did, or said, in the context of Hindu Muslim relations. His insistence on the delivery of Rs 55 crore to Pakistan regardless of its invasion of Jammu & Kashmir in 1947 is well known. What however is useful to recall are the Moplah riots in the Malabar area of, what is now, Kerala.

Disappointed at the likelihood of not being able to retain the Khalifa on the throne of Turkey, the Moplahs turned on their Hindu neighbours and slaughtered several thousand of them and destroyed hundreds of their houses. Yet, Gandhiji spoke of the attackers as brave God fearing Moplahs who were fighting for, what they considered their religion and in a manner which they considered as religious. Simultaneously, Gandhiji exhorted the Hindus to have courage and faith that they could protect their religion in spite of such fanatical eruptions.

If only Ambedkar had been the first Prime Minister of India, would not the history of the subcontinent been different? With the respective populations transferred, as suggested by Babasaheb and demanded by the Muslim League, would there have been any scope left for communal conflict?

26 Swaraj Meant Saving the Khalifa

The British themselves considered 13th April, 1919 as a dark day in the history of their rule in India, to the extent that during her official visit in 1997 to India, Queen Elizabeth II visited Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar. Evidently, the butchery of some hundreds of innocent lives, with the help of 1650 rounds of rifle firing by the soldiers of Brigadier Dyer, sits uneasy on the British conscience.

This British blot pales into insignificance when remembered in comparison with the Moplah riots in the Malabar area of, what is now, Kerala, during 1921. In the words of historian R.C.Majumdar, *with the Moplah outrages the Congress forfeited its moral right to criticize the action of the British authorities in respect of the outrages in the Punjab*. The enormity of the episode can be gauged from the fact that the casualties suffered by the British Indian soldiers in their endeavour to put down the riots were 43 killed and 126 wounded. The number of policemen who lost their lives ran into hundreds. The culprit Moplahs themselves were eventually estimated to have suffered 3,000 casualties.

The massacre of Hindus, their forcible conversions, the outrages upon women, the desecration of temples and the burning of houses was unspeakable. The following is a quote from a memorial submitted by the women of Malabar soon after the riots to the Vicereina Lady Reading: *It is possible that your Ladyship is not fully apprised of all the horrors and atrocities perpetrated by the fiendish rebels, of the many wells and tanks filled up with the mutilated, but often only half dead bodies of our nearest and dearest ones who refused to abandon the faith of our fathers; of pregnant women cut to pieces and left on the roadsides and in the jungles, with the unborn babe protruding from the mangled corpse, of our innocent and helpless children torn from our arms and done to death before our eyes and of our husbands and fathers tortured, flayed and burnt alive; of our sisters forcibly carried away from the midst of kith and kin and subjected to every shame and outrage which the*

vile and brutal imagination of these inhuman hell hounds could conceive of, of thousands of our homesteads reduced to cinder mounds out of sheer savagery and a wanton spirit of destruction; of our places of worship desecrated and destroyed and of the images of deity shamefully insulted by putting the entrails of slaughtered cows where flower garlands used to lie, or else smashed to pieces.

The distinguished British theosophist and former President of the Congress Party, 1916, Annie Besant, visited Malabar and had the following to say: *It would be well if Mr Gandhi could be taken into Malabar to see with his own eyes the ghastly horrors which have been created by the preaching of himself and his loved brothers, Mohammed and Shaukat Ali. Men who consider it religious to murder, rape, loot, to kill women and little children, cutting down whole families, have to be put under restraint in any civilized society.*

Annie Besant⁶⁷ attributed the Moplah riots to the conviction amongst the Muslims that *swaraj* would be attained by 1 August 1921. Incidentally, their understanding of *swaraj* was of a rule dominated by Islam. When rioting began, *they drove away all Hindus who would not apostatise. Somewhere about a lakh (100,000) of people were driven from their homes with nothing but the clothes they had on, stripped of everything. The Khilafat preachers have the greatest share of the guilt; the Congressmen, with their violent abuse of the government, their lawlessness, their declarations that they were out to destroy the government, were at war with the government, a large share.*

The Government of India report on the riots was a detailed one. Quoted now are some of the lines from that document: *Such Europeans as did not succeed in escaping – and they were fortunately few – were murdered with bestial savagery. As soon as the administration had been paralysed, the Moplahs declared that Swaraj was established. A certain Ali Musaliar was proclaimed Raja, Khilafat flags were flown, and Ernad and Walluvanad were declared Khilafat kingdoms. The main brunt of Moplah ferocity was borne, not by government but the luckless Hindus who constituted the majority of the population. Massacres, forcible conversions, desecration of temples, foul outrages upon women, pillage, arson and destruction – in short, all the accompaniments of brutal and unrestrained barbarism were perpetrated freely.*

The official resolution of the Congress Party passed at its plenary session at Ahmedabad during the same year was, by contrast, a whitewash: *The Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the*

non-cooperation or the Khilafat Movement, specially as the non-cooperation and the Khilafat preachers were denied access to the affected parts by the district authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements, and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless, this Congress deplors the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property.

The reason why it is being called a whitewash is a statement signed by the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, Secretary, Calicut District Congress Committee and Secretary, Ernad Khilafat Committee and K.V.Gopala Menon. It reads: *Their wanton and unprovoked attack on the Hindus, the all but wholesale looting of their houses in Ernad, and parts of Valluvanad, Ponnani and Calicut taluqs; the forcible conversion of Hindus in a few places in the beginning of the rebellion and the wholesale conversion of those who stuck to their homes in later stages, the brutal murder of inoffensive Hindus, men, women and children, in cold blood without the slightest reason except that they are kafirs or belong to the same race as the policemen who insulted their Tangals or entered their mosques, desecration and burning of Hindu temples, the outrage on Hindu women and their forcible conversion and marriage by Moplahs.*

The Congress whitewash, however, was not a patch on what Mahatma Gandhi himself tried to do in order to cover up Moplah crimes. To quote him: *The brave God fearing Moplahs who were fighting for what they consider as religion, and in a manner which they consider as religious. The Hindus must have the courage and the faith to feel that they can protect their religion in spite of such fanatical eruptions.*

In the light of what Gandhiji had to say, it is not surprising what Shaukat Ali, the President of the 1923 Khilafat Conference, at Cocanada, now Kakinada, had to say: *Thousands of Moplahs had been martyred but they owed a duty, both on religious and humanitarian grounds, to these brave Moplahs.* He went on to announce that he and his brother, Maulana Muhammad Ali, would each provide for the maintenance of one Moplah orphan. Hasrat Mohani, President of the Muslim League in 1923, *characterised the Moplah action as a religious war against the British. It was a political movement which could not be dissociated from the khilafat agitation.*

This contention should be no surprise if one recalls the impression that Gandhi had conveyed to his Muslim colleagues on the Khilafat committee as to what constituted *swaraj* or freedom. It is best to quote the Mahatma himself: *To the Muslims swaraj means, as it must, India's ability to deal effectively with the Khilafat question. It is impossible not to sympathise with this attitude... I would gladly ask for the postponement of the swaraj activity if we could advance the interest of the Khilafat.*

Sir Sankaran Nair,⁶⁸ who was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, wrote about the Moplah riots in 1922. Himself hailing from Malabar, the pain the local people must have felt is reflected in what he wrote. He said: *For sheer brutality on women, I do not remember anything in history to match the Malabar (Moplah) rebellion ... The atrocities committed more particularly on women are so horrible and unmentionable that I do not propose to refer to them in this book.*

Sir Sankaran has analysed the root cause of the Moplah riots as Gandhiji's lack of understanding of the Muslim psyche. *It is impossible to believe that Gandhi and his adherents are not aware that this claim of the Mahomedans to be judged only by the law of the Qoran, is a claim which is the fons et origo of all Khilafat claims of whatever kind.* He subsequently quotes Hasrat Mohani's speech at the Karachi session of the Khilafat Conference wherein he pointed out that *Islam is opposed to non-violence and, as he said in the course of one of his speeches, the Mussalmans accepted it on the promise of (Maulana) Mahomed Ali to secure swaraj within a year. It was a legitimate move therefore to proclaim a rebellion. He pointed out another difference in principle which is productive of frightful consequences and must alienate Hindus from Mahomedans. The Ali Brothers had already said that if the Afghans invaded India to wage a holy war the Indian Mahomedans are not only bound to fight them but also to fight the Hindus if they refuse to cooperate with them.*

Sir William Vincent, member of the Legislative Assembly in New Delhi, spoke on 18 January 1922. *I do not put it that Mr Gandhi is responsible for this directly, but I do say that his supporters – his Muhammadan supporters – were the cause of this terrible loss of life. Indeed you have only got to read Mr Hasrat Mohani's speech to see what the character of the rising was.*

Those not familiar with Malabar may be curious to know who the Moplahs were? They were descendents of Arab traders who settled down on the Malabar coast during the 9th century. They married local women and multiplied their race into large numbers.

27 Archaeological Surveys

British discoveries and Indian concealments

At the 61st session of the Indian History Congress held in Kolkata during 2001, Prof Nadeem Rizvi of Aligarh Muslim University proposed moving a resolution seeking a blanket ban on defacing monuments of historical importance. The author's visit to the Rudramahalaya complex at Siddhpur in the Patan district of Gujarat on 29 June 2000, had given him the impression that there was in any case, an implicit freeze on archaeological excavations.

The Archaeological Survey (ASI) had a plaque, placed at Rudramahalaya during British rule, which says that there were a group of eleven temples. Only four had been excavated during that time. One of them even today has a *Shivling*. The other three are chapels but without idols which had originally existed but had later been destroyed. A *mehrab* of the Jami Masjid, that still exists, had covered all the four temples.

On the repeated exhortation of the local Muslim community in 1959, the ASI decided to beautify the surroundings of the masjid. However, it took nearly two decades before work could actually begin. In an endeavour to create space for a garden around the masjid, some digging took place. In the bargain, some stone statues including that of a Nandi bull were discovered.

It appeared to be an inadvertent beginning of excavating the remaining seven sanctum sancti. Since this could prove embarrassing, the community leaders retracted their exhortations and asked the ASI to stop work. They not only got a stay order from the Ahmedabad High Court but also got the National Minorities Commission to intervene with the government in Delhi to freeze the excavation work.

In the light of what the author found as a result of his visit to Siddhpur, the Places of Worship Special Provisions Act rushed through Parliament by the P.V.Narasimha Rao government in 1991 no longer seemed surprising. *Prima facie*, the act is arbitrary and obliterates the sense behind archaeological discoveries, and the lessons that can be drawn from them.

The objective of the act is to maintain communal harmony by prohibiting *conversions of places of worship*. The character of any place of worship has to be frozen as it existed on 15 August 1947. Evidently, there was no objection either to conversion of people from one religion to another, or to the conversion of temples into mosques that had taken place *before* independence. The vicarious result of the act is to endorse virtual inactivity of the ASI with regard to excavations.

Rudramahalaya is not the only instance. Another one is the Adhai Din Ka Jhopra at Ajmer which was clearly a temple complex in the days of Prithvi Raj Chauhan. The ASI during British rule excavated several hundred stone statues which are all displayed at the Rajputana Museum at Akbar Fort in Ajmer, as well as in an enclosure in the Jhopra compound. But all these belong to the British era. No new work has been undertaken since, and the Jhopra is being used everyday for *ibaadat* and as a *sarai*. It is no longer treated as a protected monument. All this appears to be a pity when one reads the idealistic impulses with which the ASI became operative in 1862 with the appointment of Cunningham as Director of Archaeology.

Cunningham's duty was defined, in a resolution, to superintend a complete search over the whole country and a systematic record and description of all architectural and other remains that are remarkable for their antiquity or their beauty, or their historical interest. Evidently, exploration and excavation were the primary functions of the Director General. The work of repair and renovation was not really a part of his duties. In fact, an exclusive Curator of Ancient Monuments was appointed in 1878 for this purpose. What comes through is that the emphasis of the ASI was on discovery.

Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India during 1899 to 1905, took special interest in the archaeological department. His interest culminated in the passing of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act in 1904 (see Annexure I). Soon after his arrival in India, the young Viceroy, in the course of his speech to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, had said: *we have a duty to our forerunners, as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendents, nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own*

age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time – if indeed any are worthy of such – unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors?

Incidentally, the act defines ancient monuments as any structure, erection or monument, or any tumulus or place of internment or any cave, rock sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archaeological or artistic interest. In the course of the next four or five decades of British rule, innumerable historical monuments were discovered, excavated, declared protected and preserved. The meticulousness with which the ASI functioned during these years only evokes admiration. At least in the context of preserving India's antiquity, the British displayed an extraordinary interest, if not also affection. The dedicated men of the ASI, evidently did their work as if they had overlooked the inevitability of their some day handing over India to the Indians and themselves going home.

They conducted their work with complete objectivity. Regardless of whether it was a Hindu or a Muslim monument, their efforts to preserve were the same and their description impartial. All in all, ever since the ASI was founded in 1862, right until 1947, could well be described as the golden age of archaeology in India.

Come independence, something seems to have snapped and political priorities began to intrude into the work of this essentially scientific pursuit. What has happened at the Rudramahalaya complex in Gujarat has already been described. What happened to Bijamandal mosque in Vidisha near Bhopal is equally regrettable. Bijamandal is a temple of massive dimensions comparable with Konark in Orissa. It was desecrated again and again since Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish first indulged in his iconoclasm. Then followed Allauddin Khilji. Thereafter Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and finally Aurangzeb.

On the morrow of a flood in 1991, some idols got exposed on the apron of the temple where *ibaadat* used to be held every Eid. Following the exposure, local officers of the ASI, protected by the District Collector, excavated many sculptural treasures. The work, however, could not last long as the ASI received instructions to stop. The officer incharge of the ASI at Vidisha was transferred out, as was the Collector. The Human Resources Development minister at Delhi (1990–94) happened to be the leader of the self-styled secular lobby in Madhya Pradesh. Since

then, the Bijamandal edifice is marking time with many sculptures hidden under its south side. On the author's visit to the site in October 2000, he was told by a few local residents that some Muslim leaders were upset and had raised an objection to *ibaadat* being stopped. This is the extent to which the cancer of politics has affected the ASI.

Way back in 1951, the government of independent India had legislated on the subject of archaeology. The legislation was called The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act (see Annexure II). The thrust of this brief statute was that *all archaeological sites and remains declared by this Act to be of national importance shall be deemed to be protected monuments and protected areas*. This was the beginning of government's policy of freezing discoveries in their existing conditions. Calling the sites of national importance, was an euphemism for snuffing out controversies over the sites, before they arose. The archaeological department was a part of the Education Ministry and the portfolio was held by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad until his death.

Not quite satisfied with the wording of the Act of 1951, the government had another bill passed in 1958. The law was called The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act (see Annexure III). Uncannily, the thrust of this statute was the regulation of archaeological excavations and for the protection of sculptures, carvings and other like objects. The powers of the regulation would enable the ASI to even stop excavation work. Which is what was actually illustrated by the Rudramahalaya complex and the Bijamandal mosque, described earlier. Whether the Education Ministry at the time had on its mind the fact that many temples had been converted into mosques and that in India after partition there might arise demands for changing the *status quo*. The protection of a national monument necessarily carried with it the message that the *status quo* had to be preserved.

Some years later, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad mounted a campaign for the return of the Babri masjid at Ayodhya, the Idgaah built by Aurangzeb at Mathura and the Gyan Vapi mosque which had replaced the Kashi Vishwanath temple. The Acts of 1951 and 1958 were mild and subtle in contrast to the blatancy of The Places of Worship Special Provisions Act 1991 (see Annexure IV) which was passed at the initiative of the P.V. Narasimha Rao government. The first objective was to forestall the controversy that would arise from time to time with regard to conversions of places of worship. It was declared that the character of any place of worship that

existed on August 15, 1947 could not be changed. Even if there was any litigation pending in courts, it would wait and no further suits could be filed.

The pretext was the maintenance of communal harmony and peace. Uncannily, Ayodhya was made an exception and was exempted from the mischief of this act. Sure enough, in the course of the next year and a half, the Babri edifice was brought down. Within hours of the domes having collapsed, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao made a promise in his address to the nation that the masjid would be rebuilt. In fact, there was no need to rebuild the whole edifice. All that was necessary for his government to do was to reconstruct the domes. In absolute violation of this promise, New Delhi with the help of Governor's rule imposed under Article 356 by 6 p.m. on 6 December 1992 dismantled the entire edifice, removed the rubble and built a temple for infant Ram quickly on the very site where had stood the Babri masjid.

The Act of 1991 is not only undemocratic and arbitrary but also an order to block any new research or thinking on the thousands of religious sites that exist in the country. Ironically, the conversion of individuals from one faith to another religion is permissible constitutionally, but a change in the character of a place of worship is disallowed by law.

If this be the intention of the government, where is the need to persevere with the Archaeological Survey of India which would attract criticism. Would it therefore not be realistic to consider closing down the Survey? If ministers, other officers of the government or, for that matter, the Minorities Commission can be allowed to interfere with the scientific pursuits of archaeology, continuance of the ASI would appear to be hypocritical. Unless the Survey is allowed to function freely, future generations would not be able to understand their historical/cultural heritage.

28 *Hindu Future after Black Tuesday*

Black Tuesday, 11th September, 2001, ironically, lent credence to the claim that the 21st century would be India's. This is not to make light of the calamity in New York and Washington, but merely to suggest that vicariously a new dawn has broken on the destiny of Hindustan.

It is difficult to imagine the fate of Hindu civilisation if twice before in modern history fortune not come to its rescue. Not many readers would find it palatable to know that the Battle of Plassey fought in Bengal in 1757 proved to be a boon for Hindu civilisation. This is not to say that Robert Clive was an altruist, or that the East India Company had come for the welfare of Indians. It is only to suggest that British rule altered the Hindu Muslim equation, which had been oppressively loaded against the former, since the establishment of the sultanate in Delhi at the close of the 12th century. Since then, Hindus progressively became subjects of Muslims. There was oppression, and for centuries, Hindus were not even treated as legitimate citizens, unless they paid *jizyah* or poll tax. Conversion to Islam was the other alternative.

With the advent of the British, and especially after the rebellion of 1857, the oppressors were reduced to being subjects at the same level as the Hindus. The British rulers, although economically exploitative, were politically fair, as well as liberal, compared to the Muslim conduct of government. Little wonder that several leaders of the stature of Raja Rammohan Roy emerged, and Hindu Renaissance began by the middle of the 19th century. From being half dead for centuries, Hindu civilisation began to breathe active life again. The replacement of Persian by English as the court language, and of the *Shariat* by an Indian Penal Code helped the Hindus to reach equal status.

In a different way, 15th August, 1947 was also a day when destiny saved Hindu civilisation from again getting overshadowed by a dominant minority Muslim population. The Hindus were dead against bifurcation. It was the Muslim League which demanded partition with vehemence and violence like the great Calcutta killings which began on 16th August, 1946. Bifurcation fulfilled the Muslim desire to have an Islamic state or a Dar-ul-Islam. There is no doubt that partition was nationally as painful as metaphorically a double amputation, one in the northwest and the other in the east, the two wings of Pakistan. The division of India was cruel and tragic for individuals and families who suffered. On the other hand, had partition not taken place, the Muslim population of undivided India today would be approximately 38 percent. Such a large minority, if it were to vote in unison, could easily elect a Muslim ministry or a sultanate in New Delhi, considering the influence that approximately 12 percent Muslims of India have at present on the country. For example, Shahi Imam Ahmed Bokhari is able to openly support the Taliban, despite the widespread conviction that it is the mainspring of Islamic terrorism today.

The Imam is only one symptom of the belligerence which goes contrary to India's national interest. Students Islamic Movement of India or SIMI which functioned as a limb of Al-Qaeda is another example. Chennai, Mumbai, and Coimbatore bomb blasts are other examples. The 54 year old Kashmir syndrome confirms. How much has it cost in terms of blood, money and, above all, holding back the progress of India? The price of minorityism has been a stupendous one. This all adds up to the fact that the Hindus are unable to cope with Muslims. Since Hindus are essentially an accommodative civilisation. The genesis of this quality is in the belief that is rooted in *sanatan dharma*, that all living beings including birds, animals and reptiles are members of the Hindu universe. It is in sharp contrast with the Judaic proposition that the world is divided into two types of people: Jews and gentiles, Christians and heathens, or momins and kafirs. Thus the Hindu ethos and its Judaic or Semitic counterpart are sharply different, that one may be compared to a horse and the other to a leopard. With all the will in the world, the horse has neither the temperament nor the equipment to cope with the aggressiveness of the leopard. If the Hindu ethos stands for accommodation, the Judaic world is motivated by a desire to dominate.

The resulting undercurrent for nonviolence has not helped Hindus to deal with Muslims who, when they came to India, did so in very small numbers. Yet, almost invariably, the Hindus were on the defensive, if not also retreating. This is what leads one to believe that in contrast to medieval times, British rule helped Hindus

to develop a somewhat equal equation with the Muslims. It gave relief to the trauma that the Hindu psyche had suffered by the impact of Islam in India.

On Black Tuesday, Islamic terrorists antagonised the whole world. Since society, religion and politics are closely interwoven in Islam, it is difficult for the average Muslim to be antipathic towards brother fundamentalists. Even if terrorism is abhorred, a Muslim is unable, with a clear conscience, to support a non-Muslim or a *kafir* against any section of their own brotherhood. In the process, the anti-terrorist war led and launched by the US has, willy nilly, become a war against Islam. Even if this were not to happen, the war would lead to a split in the world's *ummah*. Such a split itself is bound to weaken the community which, in turn, would relieve the pressure which Hindu civilisation has been suffering since the advent of Muhammad Ghauri at the end of the 12th century.

In a manner of speaking, Hindus have not been able to stand straight for centuries. Now however, a new era has begun which should enable them to stand up to the *ulema* generated pressure. Pakistan had to do an about turn under American threats; from being a cradle of terrorism, overnight this Dar-ul-Islam of the sub-continental Muslim joined the US led coalition which is at war against terrorism. From being a protege, the Taliban became an enemy of Islamabad (capital of Pakistan). The Pakistani *ulema* has so far had to tolerate this metamorphosis whether through persuasion, or at the point of a gun. In either case, it loses its pre-eminence.

If the about turn succeeds, Pakistan should become a society reminiscent of modern Turkey which in turn would discount the *ulema* further. On the other hand, if there were to be a counter revolution and the policy gets reversed, by inexorable logic Pakistan would move towards Talibanisation. It would then become the responsibility of the US led coalition to do in Pakistan what it did in Afghanistan. This means, that in any case, there would be a depreciation of the *ulema's* influence in the sub-continent, beginning with Pakistan and then sympathetically in India.



IV Strategy

It is unlikely that conflict can be resolved without the help of a strategy. This is a word which is often used, but seldom understood. It is quite common to confuse it with a tactic, or a subterfuge, or a gameplan. However, it is none of these. It envisages a scheme of action and possible reaction, based on thinking through the whole conflict. This avoids *ad hoc* measures, or steps that may contradict other steps in the course of an endeavour to resolve the conflict. It enables one to have an answer for almost every situation as it emerges, whether in the course of fighting or diplomacy or plain persuasion.

The foundation of strategy is an assessment of one's own strengths and weaknesses and, thereafter, an understanding of the adversary's strengths as well as weaknesses. Remember, what suits a leopard with his long, sharp, canine teeth and his powerful paws is unlikely to be of use to a horse who has many virtues but no inherent assets for attack.

What suits a typical Muslim or a typical European may or may not suit a Hindu with his reactive reluctance to attack, to kill and to fight to the end regardless of who the adversary is and what the costs are. To illustrate the concept, Sri Krishna is important. On the one hand, he was a personification of the Hindu genius and, on the other, an imaginative strategist who did not allow his filial bonds to supersede his cause. To adopt a sentence from William Shakespeare, he should well tell Duryodhan: it is not that I love you less, my cousin; it is just that I love the cause of Hastinapur more. In other words, he is the finest example that there has been of a Hindu strategist.

This section begins with India's outstanding dispute with China. The intention is to focus with clarity on strategy, as distinct from the Hindu Muslim conflict. Since that is the subject of this book, it is possible that their conflict would overflow into their dispute with either Pakistan or Bangladesh. The case of China is well away from the conflict.



Peoples' Liberation Army soldiers go through their paces

29 *Negotiate with China*

Tawang in NEFA, now Arunachal Pradesh, fell into the hands of the Chinese army in September 1962. A colleague of the author, five years his senior and he applied for joining the Territorial Army in Calcutta. The author was 25, a bachelor doing well in a well paid job. Basant Dube at 30 was married with a son. Their consciences were restless because although they were able bodied, they were not doing anything for defending the country. The author could not take his mind off a scene in the film called the *Four Faces of Apocalypse*. It was the famous actor Charles Boyer bidding goodbye to his son on a bridge across the river Seine in Paris. The boy had been embodied by the French army and was proceeding to the Belgian front during May 1940, when the Germans were overwhelming France at the beginning of World War II. Boyer was weeping at the thought of possibly losing his son. Yet he said *go on my son so that you don't have to live with a bad conscience as I have done since 1914. Instead of responding to the national call to join up and face the invading Germans I, (Boyer) ran away to Argentina.*

Basant and the author tried hard to move their applications only to find after about two weeks, that they had been mislaid. So they applied again, and were soon called for a preliminary interview at Fort William followed by a medical examination. The doctor declared the author knock kneed and flat footed. Both of them did not give up, and Basant approached some friends who ensured that the author was called by the Services Selection Board at Allahabad for an interview. By the time he reached the Board, it was the middle of February 1963. On 21st November, 1962, the Chinese had declared a unilateral ceasefire. The point to note was that at no stage did they come across any undue anxiety in the government that the enemy had crossed the threshold. Nor was there any urgency to recruit soldiers to meet the Chinese invasion.

What could be the reason? Was the Indian state too young at statecraft on a large scale? Too new to behave like a large modern state? China had been a centralised state for 2,200 years with a central bureaucracy. Over 91 percent of its people belong to one race, namely the Han who speak the same language. China has had its ups and downs, experiencing foreign exploitation especially during the 19th century. But as a whole, the country has never been under a foreign yoke. The people are conscious of their importance as a civilisation. In Chinese, China is *Chung-wah*; *chung* means central or middle and *wah* means country. Social freedom has never been a Chinese virtue; they have never experienced democracy. The state is all important and it does not get shaken easily. For example, in 1961, the year before its army came hurtling into Ladakh and NEFA, some 30 million had died of starvation in its western provinces. This, despite people being willing to eat most things—the snake is a popular favourite. Cockroaches are sold as a delicacy openly on the streets of Guangzhou, previously Canton and other cities.

Nevertheless, do not forget that today if there is one faith the Chinese people cherish, it is the Buddhism. Marxism came and went. In 1991, Hongkong, now a part of China, installed a splendid huge statue of Lord Buddha, because people were seeking a place for pilgrimage. In 2001, Hainan province was putting up, what its people considered, the world's tallest Buddha statue, again with pilgrimage as the objective. Most Chinese are aware that Gautam Buddha lived and preached in India. They identify India as Hindu. Lord Buddha was the tenth *avataar* of Vishnu.

Sri Krishna would know all this and more, and impress upon the Chinese as publicly as possible, that India is their holy land. Come and visit the sacred places. At the same time, he would explain to the powers in Beijing the pressures of a multipolar world. *Why throw India into the arms of the super power America? You have enough on your hands with the US in Taiwan, Japan, Nepal, Russia and so on? Why provoke the addition of India to a list of American allies?* No doubt, Sri Krishna would speak equally frankly to his own people. Tell China to come clean on what and how much territory it needs for its own strategic defence on the outskirts of Tibet and Xinjiang, or Sinkiang of old as well as in the eastern sector. *For the rest, please give us back what belongs to us.* Sri Krishna would appeal to the Chinese as well as to his own people not to stand on pride. True, their representatives had not signed the Anglo-Tibetan agreement in the Simla conference on 1913-14 which led to the drawing of the McMahon Line. *On our part, we undertake that no Tibetan would be allowed to keep any political contact with his com-*

patriots in his home area. That is on the condition that you arrive at a full and final settlement of the boundaries between our two countries.

Although in his first incarnation 3,400 years ago, land was all important as a source of income and wealth, Sri Krishna would today know that technology and trade are the great national earners. Territory continues to be important, but not crucial as a principal source of wealth. China's first preoccupation today is with manufacture and export of goods, as well as accumulating foreign exchange. Earlier on, land was an obsession especially in over populated countries. That is when the border conflict began. Why carry it on now?

Mao Zedong and Chou en-Lai died years ago. So have Jawaharlal Nehru and V.K. Krishna Menon. In other words, so much water has flowed down the rivers of India and China, that today both are virtually unrecognisable from the era of Mao and Nehru. It is sad, if not also tragic, that the border dispute should have been allowed to fester indefinitely for decades. The problem was recognised by the British government in the 19th century. As a mature state, Britain believed in consolidating the frontiers of her territory. An unsettled border would cause disputes and divert the government's attention from concentrating on its main function of running the state, ensuring peace and thus promoting trade and prosperity.

Little wonder that the British encouraged negotiations with Lhasa in the presence of the Chinese who were then the *de jure* suzerains of Tibet. The treaty agreeing on the McMahon Line was signed in 1914; the Chinese initialed it although eventually did not sign. Sri Krishna never sat on problems and allowed them to fester. He could see through every issue and find an answer without standing on pride. Which is what helped to make him such a strategist. Imagine at the age of only 25, he decided to withdraw from Mathura and Brajbhoomi to save his people from being harassed by Jarasandh. He migrated several hundred miles away to Dwarka in western India and lived there for the rest of his life.

When he negotiated with the Kauravas on behalf of the Pandavas after they had returned from their thirteen year exile, he asked for only five villages. The Kaurava prince Duryodhan was too full of himself to concede anything. The eventual result was the Mahabharat war. Sri Krishna knew the balance between the desirable and the possible. He did not permit ego to interfere. Or else could he have acted as the *sarathi* or charioteer of Arjun on the battlefield? Similarly, he would go a long way to persuade the powers in Beijing and the people in India to arrive at a settlement. Knowing the price of war, he would not emulate Jawaharlal Nehru, who on his way

to Colombo on 20th August, 1962, told the press that he had ordered our troops to throw the Chinese out. Nor would Sri Krishna sit on his sword indefinitely as has been done by the Indian government for all these decades. And of course, as was his wont, his combat would be truly strategic with no holds barred. Not an impulsive effort.

30 *Make Muslims Realise*

Islam is about 1,400 years old. Even Jesus Christ preached and blessed 20 centuries ago. Whereas Sri Krishna's historicity dates back to some 3,400 years. He would therefore be utterly free of any communal prejudice. In his times, there was no faith in India, other than the *sanatan dharma*. The Hindu faith includes all living beings as part of the universe. He would not be conscious of either a heathen or a *kafir*. Who could be better placed to be objective and impartial between one human being and another, between one Indian and another, between the Hindu and the Muslim?

Yet he would be quick to realise the historical conflict between the two communities, its causes and its potential dangers. Without resolving this tension, Hindustan cannot forge ahead as quickly, or as well, as it might. When Sri Krishna sets out to bring about the much needed cordiality and goodwill, he would direct his genius as well his affection first towards the Muslims. If for no other reason, then the fact that in Hindustan they are fewer in number than the Hindus. Soon enough, he would discover that there are few leaders commanding widespread respect among the Muslims whom he could meet, confer with and resolve points of conflict. The *ulema*, popularly called the *mullahs*, refuse to listen with their minds open. How can they? By listening, one might have to begin to concede points which are obviously reasonable. But what is reasonable in the Indian context today might conflict with what was valid in Arabia 1,400 years ago.

The *ulema's* faith in Islam is absolute. And Islam is what was the final message of Allah delivered by the last prophet, his holiness Muhammad Saheb whether contained in the *Quran Sharief* or in the *Hadith*. Those leaders, who are liberal and are prepared to adjust to modern Indian conditions have to either keep quiet and toe the line of the *alims*, or else they come into hopeless conflict with the *mullahs*. The average Muslim is entirely wedded to his faith, as set for him by the *ulema* through the *imam* who delivers a *khutabh* or sermon in masjids after the Friday prayers. Sri

Krishna would thus find that it is pointless to negotiate with such Muslim leadership on national and social issues. The Muslim woman is difficult to approach. Either she is behind the *burqa* or is at home. She does not normally come even to the masjid. She does not always read newspapers. The only media she might be exposed to, is the television.

The TV is therefore the media to use, not only for women, but also for men. Sri Krishna would be able to communicate effectively. He is known for his bold freshness, clarity of thought and the lucidity of message. Sri Krishna would take, as it were, the TV screen in his hand and in evenings address the Muslims of India, both men and women, half an hour each day. He would tell them how their past was glorious and how, by contrast, the present is dismal. The Muslims in India, his immediate audience, are rightly or wrongly, feeling like second class citizens. Pakistan is threatened with bankruptcy, while Bangladesh is stricken with poverty. Yet how prosperous were the Muslims of Mughal India? How proud and powerful! What had gone wrong?

Sri Krishna would have to explain all this by himself. And he would address the Muslim people directly, not through any Muslim intermediaries. For his genius would realise that, in the nature of things there is a paradox. The Muslims are very faithful followers. And there are few communities which produce less non-ecclesiastical leaders. Is there a single Muslim leader in India, who has a mass following? It would be necessary to search, and at the end of it, a few names of *alims* or *imams* would emerge; in other words institutional leaders. The orthodoxy of Islam comes in the way of spontaneous leadership emerging. In order to come up, a leader has to offer or propose something new. And offering anything new could well be offensive to the orthodoxy of Islam.

Why confine ourselves to the present? How many mass Muslim leaders can we name prior to independence? Very few. So few that the Muslim League had to go into the arms of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who for most of his life had a liberal outlook. He wore western clothes, mostly spoke English, and did not know Urdu. His mother tongue was Gujarati which he spoke fluently, until he went to England. He seldom offered *namaz*. He was a Shia, not a Sunni, had married a Parsi and enjoyed a whisky soda on most evenings, according to his brother Ahmed Ali who was a friend of the author's grandfather Dharamdas Vora of 401 Girgaum Road, Mumbai 2.

Cut out religious names and the 19th century was also largely barren. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of Aligarh Muslim University, stands out. How many other names come to mind? Why restrict our vision to the sub-continent? Let us traverse overseas towards the 20th century, and look for leaders or statesmen. Yes, Kemal Ataturk comes immediately to mind. To achieve what he did for Turkey, he had to go against the *ulema*. He went to the extent of abolishing the Arabic script for the Turkish language, replacing it with the Roman alphabet. He framed non-religious or a secular constitution that does not permit a party with a religious manifesto or programme to function. The army is the guardian of Turkish secularism. But how many leaders can go squarely against Islamic tradition and in how many societies? Not every country borders Europe. Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser is the other outstanding name. Dr. Mohammed Sukarno of Indonesia, Ben Bella of Algeria, Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia rose to prominence on the back of freedom struggles. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman of Bangladesh is yet another name, but he personified Bengali revolt against the Punjabis of Pakistan. There was no social content in his manifesto. Remember, except for Ataturk, none of these leaders was able to reform or make the Muslim community more progressive. Gandhiji found several willing partners like Maulana Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali in the *khalifat* movement of 1919/20. No sooner had the movement failed to retain the Sultan of Turkey on his throne, the partners abandoned the Mahtama and addressed him as Mr. Gandhi. Worse still, they had limited influence over the masses.

Sri Krishna would explain the importance of nationalism, national territory as well as the value of citizenship. He would declare that every Indian should possess an identity card or a multi-purpose domestic card for obtaining rations, travelling within the country, voting at election time et al. On the card would also be an oath that the citizen swears that his loyalty to his country is supreme, and above any commitment to other factors including religion. Yes, internationalists like the communists, or supra-nationalists, who believe in the supremacy of the world *ummah* might object. They would have the choice to emigrate. If to them their motherland is subsidiary to some other object of attachment, let them go out of India. Or else, it would be, for them, living in *adharma*.

Sri Krishna is likely to be patient with the Muslims because for nearly three centuries since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. they have been suffering from a sense of decline and loss of power. They did not take to western education, or the study of English, largely on the advice of the *ulema*. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan repeatedly bemoaned this lacunae and founded the university at Aligarh.

The Hindus are a different case. While they have had their share of sufferings and adversity, especially during medieval times, they have no justification for tolerating the anti-Hindu fringe amongst themselves. Yet they do. A fifth column is illegitimate. A traitor is worse than an enemy. A Jaichand, who betrayed Prithviraj Chauhan, is more damnable than all the deceits that Muhammad Ghauri, the invader practised. Sri Krishna would no doubt order such anti-Hindus to ask for forgiveness and swear an oath of allegiance to the country, or otherwise quit India.

At the same time Sri Krishna would see to it that the government of India would locate, arrest and send to the Assam border the infiltrators in batches of one thousand. From several points on the border with Bangladesh, these infiltrators would be extradited under the full glare of media, press as well as TV, foreign as well as Indian. This expulsion of infiltrators would help to convince not only the Assamese but also the people of Meghalaya, Manipur and Nagaland that the government means business for the protection of the seven sisters. Sri Krishna would also insist with the Government of India that its abrogate the pernicious Illegal Migrants (Determination of Tribunals) Act, 1983. This act was passed by the Indira Gandhi government in 1983. It makes Assam the only state in India where, if challenged, the onus of proving that he is a foreigner is on the government and not on the person. Everywhere else in the country the Foreigners Act 1946 applies. According to this law the onus of proving, when challenged, that the person is an Indian is on him and not on the government.

31 *Win Over the Northeast*

Sri Krishna was the first to personify the unity of India. On his shifting from Mathura to Dwarka, he went on to become the president of the Andhaka-Vrisni league or confederation of five Yadava republican committees. They were situated on the west coast of what is now called Saurashtra, the peninsula in Gujarat.

The area was called Prabhas and the capital was at Dwarkapuri. The city of Prabhas Patan still throbs with life and activity. It is only a few kilometers from Somnath. The constituent members of the Andhaka-Vrisni league had their differences and could not pull on together. Sri Krishna was keen to ensure unity, but his efforts eventually came to naught. He failed, as recorded by Shobha Mukherji.⁶⁹

He realised he was ahead of his time and, yet being wedded to the idea of political unity, he charted a new path. He guided and supported the Pandavas in the epic war. Eventually they emerged victorious and established a united kingdom at Hastinapur. Soon thereafter, Yudhishthira was advised to perform *aswamedha* or horse sacrifice with the intention of expanding the state.

Manipuris on the Myanmar border are predominantly devotees of Sri Krishna. It is believed that Arjun was sent to the border state whose princess Chitrangada was married to him. Arjun was also reputed to have conquered a number of other territories. Similarly, his younger brother Nakul went westwards and made quite a few conquests on the banks of river Sindhu as well as Saraswati. Incidentally, the south also was not neglected; all the Ayyangars of Tamilnadu are devotees of Sri Krishna. In Tamil, Krishna is called Kanha and Kannan is quite a popular name.

Some part of the northeast region of Hindustan or the other is disturbed and a thorn in national unity. Many problems are easy to understand. Yet there are many others which defy diagnosis by most political doctors. Take for example the largest

of the seven sister states. The non-tribal Assamese speaking people of the Brahmaputra valley have long been dissatisfied with the government's lackadaisical attitude towards infiltrators from Bangladesh and before 1971, East Pakistan. Within years of partition, allegations were heard against leaders like Moinul Haq Chowdhury and later Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed that they were encouraging the settlement of infiltrators from across the border. It was a popular impression that the Congress party's strategy for winning the elections was the wooing of Ali, coolie or tea garden workers and Bengalis who were mainly residents of Cachar and Goalpara. These districts had been transferred in 1874 from the Bengal presidency to make Assam a large enough province. The lovers of Assam hated the Congress policy. Their caste profile was interesting. About a third are Brahmins. A select few families claimed their ancestry to be Kannaujia; their forefathers were specially invited from Kannauj in Uttar Pradesh by the Ahom kings of Sibsagar in the 14th century to introduce Hinduism systematically among the people. These Brahmins are proud of their tradition. About a third more of the non-tribal Assamese are *kayastha* and the remaining third belongs to other castes. No one was a *dalit*.

These lovers of Assam, felt threatened from two angles. They were progressively getting outnumbered. And with that their cultural identity was getting diluted. From time to time, in small pockets, tempers used to run high and protests lodged. Occasionally, the wrath was directed against, say, the Bengalis as in 1960. The resentment however was not accurately focussed until 1979, when some university students unearthed electoral rolls in the Mangaldoi constituency which was then represented by Begum Anwara Taimur. Quite a significant number of the voters, were recent infiltrators from Bangladesh.

An agitation followed the discovery which, in turn, led to the formation of the All Assam Students Union, popularly called AASU. This organisation of youth swore that they would drive out all the illegal settlers from Assam. Yet, when the electoral party that grew out of AASU came to power in Assam, it did not take any action to evict the infiltrators. Their names were not even removed from the electoral rolls. The terrorist offshoot of AASU, also did little to dislodge the illegal settlers. Instead the organisation made the secession of Assam from India as its priority. Who made the posters is not known, but the author has seen some which said: *Indian dogs get out of Assam*. This organisation like AASU as well as its electoral offshoot is largely led by the Assamese of the valley, or the lovers of Assam. Paradoxically, the tribal communities like the Bodos, the Rajbanshis, the Kochs, and the Chutiyas have never raised the cry of secession from the country. There is a standing demand for a Bodoland but only as a state within the Indian union. There

have been demands for secession, at various stages and times, since independence by Naga as well as Mizo organisations, but never by the plains tribals of Assam.

The author's association with the tea fraternity has made him somewhat familiar with the region, although by no means an expert on its political affairs. Nevertheless, he knows enough to believe that in its ethnic variety, the northeast is perhaps the world's most complex region. It is not easy to understand the pulls and pressures that eventually weave into a lovely tapestry, albeit of a designer reminiscent of a mosaic. To his way of thinking, the northeast is as much a limb of Mother India as any other state. Nor would Sri Krishna possibly disagree. As a popular legend persists, Sri Krishna eloped with Rukmini, his second wife, from the kingdom of Roing, which is not far away from the confluence of the rivers Sikiang, Dibang and Lohit which join to become the Brahamaputra in today's Arunachal Pradesh.

Rukmini was known for her beauty and Shishupal, the prince of a neighbouring kingdom, was courting her. Sri Krishna intervened and eloped, but before he could do so, Rukmini's tribe called the Idu, sided with Shishupal and put up a fight. After defeating the Idus, Sri Krishna insisted that they cut their hair below their ears. That Sri Krishna had sent Arjun all the way to Manipur soon after the Mahabharat war, has already been mentioned. But that was 3,400 years ago, when life was less complex. What would the *avataar* of Vishnu do now to cure the rather wounded north-east limb of Mother India?

One supposes that he would use the media, both print and electronic, to persuade the people of the region to get rid of the fears which cause the feeling of alienation, if not also separatism, and even a desire to secede from Hindustan. Whether through articles, editorials, TV debates, panel discussions, plays, skits, Sri Krishna would ask the people: if you do not belong to Mother India, fair enough, but where else do you belong? A small state such as yours cannot survive in a modern globalising world. It is wise to know whom one wishes to marry before considering a divorce. For a small state to survive alone today, is not possible.

The next poser of Sri Krishna would be: suppose New Delhi were to agree to secession of any of the states and, as a corollary, the Central Reserve Police and the Assam Rifles as well as the Border Security Force and the army are withdrawn. Would that not open the gates for infiltrators from Bangladesh to flood the land most of which is so rich and fertile? The government of Bangladesh has an army, navy as well as an air force. Would a small state be able to raise such forces? If so, how soon? Would it take more than a few weeks, or at most a few months, for the

infiltrators to rush in? Listening to Sri Krishna's arguments the people would realise that even if it were easy to separate, how difficult it would be to survive thereafter. This is the eventual outcome that has been overlooked by most people.

Sri Krishna would certainly ask not merely New Delhi but all parts of India to go and visit the northeast which is one of the greenest, lushest and amongst the prettiest areas in the world and once tension is removed and peace returns, investments would flow in. But being the son of a cowherd, Krishna would know who would take to farming more than business. Agriculture, whether individual, family or on a plantation scale, would be the answer. No less valuable would be tourism and so on. Sri Krishna would not stop at asking the people of New Delhi and others to go and understand the agonies and ecstasies of their seven sisters. He would also ask all the people of the region to go out and acquaint their brethren in other parts of India as to how they feel and how best they can live in the hills and valleys of the region blessed by the river Brahmaputra.

32 *Persuade Bangladesh*

Since Sri Krishna lived some 3,400 years ago, he knew no religious differences. There were no Muslims and no Christians in his times. Even the Jewish Prophet Moses belonged to the 13th century BC. He was far away between Egypt and Israel. The *avataar* of Vishnu therefore knew of only the *sanatan dharma* or the eternal faith. He would be above prejudice between the different faiths which came up subsequently. He could therefore take a human view of the infiltration from Bangladesh, and not as if it were a Hindu Muslim question or even a dispute between two countries.

It is indeed a human issue or rather a problem of poor India getting even poorer. The rich in Hindustan, whether Hindu, Muslim or others, profit by the infiltration of Bangladeshi workers. For them it is cheaper labour than what they can readily get in India. Even for domestic services, if an Indian maid servant charges Rs.2,000 per month, the illegally arrived girl from Khulna, Kushtia or Faridpur would accept Rs.1,500.

In manufacturing or construction work, the infiltrators undercut as many Indian Muslim workers as Hindu workers. The author's eyes were truly opened to the problem when his room bearer at the Bengal Club in Kolkata complained some years ago. His name was Zainal Abedin. Although originally from Bhagalpur, the family had settled for decades in Burdwan in West Bengal. They were mostly masons as were their relatives. Their wage was at least Rs.65 per day until a horde of people arrived from Faridpur. Some of them also happened to be masons. Out of helplessness, they agreed to work for Rs.45. The result was that the Zainal clan had to either go without work, or fall in line with the level of infiltration wages.

Understandably bitter about his brothers' wages being undercut, Zainal went on to explain that when people migrate, they do so with the help of their relatives or

friends who invariably belong to the same religion. They also seek work and wages through similar contacts who are also Muslim. Inevitably, the jobs targeted first are those being performed by Muslims. In Zainal's opinion, infiltration hits Muslims more than Hindus. How far he was right, one does not know. In the Rajya Sabha, Muslim members did not protest when the issue came up in the house during 1999.

One wonders why, especially after hearing Zainal's tale of woe, the poor were undercut by the poorer. Eventually, a friendly journalist explained that the communists have a vested interest in poverty. Unless the working class remains poor, it would not remain the proletariat seeking communist shelter. They could turn into *petit bourgeois*. An increasing number of poor people is the fertile soil that a communist party seeks, according to the journalist.

Sri Krishna is unlikely to suffer the indifference of our political leaders. He would go to the heart of the problem and ask the government of Bangladesh to please secure or seal their country's borders so that infiltrators do not flow out of the country. He would ask our government to be strict when addressing Dhaka. To say that if more and more of your people keep coming to India, we are likely to need more and more water for agriculture and for them to drink. How should we make up for the shortage?

Very reluctantly, perhaps by sending less water from the Ganga into the river Padma at the Farakka barrage. True, there is the treaty of 12 December 1996 between Bangladesh and India signed by Sheikh Hasina and H.D. Deve Gowda. The text of the treaty opens with the words: *determined to promote and strengthen their relations of friendship and good neighbourliness and inspired by the common desire of promoting the well being of their people*. Very noble objectives indeed!

According to this water sharing treaty, India is expected to release a minimum quantity of its Ganga waters through the Farraka barrage into river Padma between 1 January and 31 May every year. In other words, Bangladesh is assured of water supply in one of its main rivers even during the dry season. If the availability in the flow of the Ganga is 70,000 cusecs or lower, Padma gets at least 50 percent. If the flow is greater, Padma is to get at least 35,000 cusecs. If the total is over 75,000, the river Bhagirathi would take 40,000 and the rest would be allowed to flow into the Padma.

Sri Krishna would take the view that Gangotri in Uttraanchal and the Ganga flows all the way in Indian territory. The water therefore belongs to Hindustan. As

it happens, Bangladesh has plenty of rivers and water. In fact, more than it requires for a greater part of the year. Nevertheless, the government of India has been generous enough to allot so much of the Gangajal, and even sign a treaty.

In reciprocation as well as in the light of noble sentiments enunciated at the beginning of the text of the treaty, the Bangladesh government should also conduct its relations with India in a fair and friendly manner. Allowing infiltrators to flow out of the country and undercut the poor in India is neither fair nor friendly. In any case, water is used by the infiltrators. To that extent, the Indian government should be free to curtail the outflow into the Padma. If in the process, the districts of Kushiya, Faridpur, Jessore or Khulna are subjected to water shortages, Dhaka should make it up by diverting water from one of the Bangladeshi rivers. The Brahmaputra, for example, has unlimited supply.

The subtlety and sweetness with which Sri Krishna would put across his argument to Dhaka, there would be no answer other than compliance, which is why we need his genius!

Equally, his impartiality between religions and countries would also help in dealing with an even more serious problem that arises from time to time in Bangladesh. Hindus are harassed, their daughters are abducted and if they do not move out, some member or the other of the family is killed. Members of the Bangladeshi elite try to cover up these crimes with the help of a facile argument. That the victims were not the target because they were Hindus, but because they were supporters of an opposing political party.

This argument has been widely bandied about in the riots that took place especially during September 2001. Most Hindus were supposed to be supporters of Sheikh Hasina as opposed to Begum Khaleda. When there have been no elections and yet riots have taken place, another argument that is used is interesting. Those Hindus who had left Bangladesh or rather East Pakistan, were generally landless. Those left behind now are mostly property owners and are therefore a temptation for the poor Muslims to attack, in order to expel them.

Sri Krishna is unlikely to allow himself to get bogged down in a point to point argument. He is more likely to quote Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and several of his staunch followers who considered an exchange of population as an integral part of the partition of India in 1947. He would simply put it to the leaders in Dhaka that the Pakistan of yesterday could well develop into the Bangladesh of tomorrow.

Why not therefore follow the wise advice of the Muslim League. It is better late than never, would be his entreaty accompanied by a twinkle in his eye. Make no mistake, he would add. *The League leaders were not being emotional. Nor were they prophets who had visualised ethnic cleansing for the first time. They were fully equipped with the knowledge of history. They must have known the scale on which such cleansing had been undertaken in Europe.* Incidentally, *ethnic cleansing* is not a derogatory or a dirty expression. Ethnic cleansing was considered to be legal by the Greco-Turkish Treaty of Laussane of 30 January 1923. It meant reciprocal emigration of ethnic minorities from one state to another. The idea was first mooted in 1913 at the end of the second Balkan War. The Turko-Bulgarian Convention of 1913 and the Greco-Turkish Agreement of 1914 were the forerunners of this treaty.

The treaty of Laussane consisted of 19 articles. Its first article laid down the principal of compulsory exchange in the following words:

As from 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively.

The Treaty of Lausanne was a recognition of the ground realities that Christian Greeks were being pushed out of Turkey under threat of either conversion, or death. A group of Muslim enthusiasts, who called themselves Young Turks, had decided on a plan of ridding Turkey of, what they called, national minorities. They wanted to make their empire a homogenous Turkish state. For this purpose, the Armenians had to be exterminated and the Greeks driven out from Turkey. The complement of this plan was to persuade the Turkish minorities in the various Balkan countries to emigrate to Turkey.

Uncannily, 1914 saw a considerable movement of populations. 115,000 Greeks were expelled. 85,000 Greeks were deported to the interior of Asia Minor. 150,000 Greeks were driven out of western Anatolia. On the other hand, 115,000 Muslims left Greece for taking the place of the Greeks who had fled from Turkey. 135,000 Muslims emigrated from other Balkan countries to Turkey. As extensively set out by Stephen P. Ladas⁷⁰ in his book *The Exchange of Minorities Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, over a million Christian Greeks had been cleansed out between 1912 and 1923. The Young Turks had called this process the Ottomanisation of Turkey.

After the end of World War I and the defeat of the Ottoman empire, Allied powers led by Britain and France, asked the Sultan's government to take back a million Greeks. Istanbul rejected the proposal out of hand. The result was the Treaty of Lausanne and especially its first article which provided for compulsory emigration. Evidently, a great deal of home work went into the drafting of this treaty. The process was described as long and laborious. Nevertheless, the problem of compulsory reciprocal emigration was thought through.

Within a month of the treaty being signed, a joint or a mixed commission was envisaged for supervising the exchange of population, but also for the liquidation of the moveable and immoveable properties left behind by the emigré. The valuation made by the commission, or the basis of compensation was to be paid to the emigres by the government of the country which they were leaving.

For us Indians, this chapter of eastern Europe is of interest from another angle. Former Viceroy Lord Curzon who went on to become Britain's Foreign Secretary, played a leading role in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Lausanne. The ethnic cleansing was carried out in a number of countries in eastern Europe. An exchange of populations between Greece and Bulgaria was on a particularly large scale. As was from Macedonia to Bulgaria. The total number of people thus affected in the first quarter of the 20th century, would run into millions. The point that emerges is that the leaders of the Muslim League were *au fait* with this history and thus knew the practicality of what they were demanding of the Congress leaders, who probably could not grasp the import of the demand. Without even attempting to think through the problem, led by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, they rejected the demand out of hand, on grounds of secularism.

Incidentally, Babasaheb Ambedkar, then in political isolation, had given the problem considerable thought. He had concluded that an exchange of populations was an inevitable corollary of partition. That was the only way to ensure peace and goodwill between the subcontinent's Hindus and Muslims. In his book *Pakistan or the Partition of India* reprinted by the government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, 1990, he has taken pains to argue the pros and cons of a reciprocal exchange.

Bangladesh is an over populated country and its leadership is palpably aware of the nation's poor land man ratio. At the same time, it knows that birth control is difficult in a society which is largely committed to the tenets of the *Holy Quran*, which permits no contraception except *coitus interruptus*. An inevitable target for targetting Bangladeshi population would be the Hindus and their ethnic cleansing.

The worst fears are that the Pakistan of yesterday could be the Bangladesh of tomorrow and what then happens to the population of India? The communal equation in our country and the tragic plight of those who may be uprooted from their homes and property. Since the return of Khaleda Begum and her BNP, it is apparent that the process has begun. How far and how soon it will proceed is to be seen.

33 *Prevail Over Pakistan*

Let us now consider the outstanding feature of Sri Krishna's many strategic suggestions during the Mahabharat war that met with remarkable success. Probably, he would adopt similar strategies for dealing with the present problems of Hindustan. His speciality was to spot a critical susceptibility of an adversary. For example, he zeroed in on the oath whereby Bhishma Pitamah could never fight against any female or eunuch. Dronacharya's inordinate love for his son Ashwathama, or the curse whereby Karna would suffer a lapse of memory about the secret of how best to fight back, or Duryodhan's physical invulnerability, except for his thighs, were ongoing susceptibilities.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, Sri Krishna would look for its greatest susceptibility. With his genius as well as lack of inhibitions, would he not focus on the basis which gave birth to the country: the well known *two-nation theory*? That the Muslims of the sub-continent are *a nation apart* from the rest of its people presumably including the Christians, Parsees, Jews *et al.* The supreme Muslim leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah, was faithful to the theory and suggested that there be an exchange of populations. That all the Muslims should, bag and baggage, migrate to Pakistan. In exchange, all the non-Muslims should come to Hindustan. Even Ambedkar⁷¹ had proposed partition with complete transfer of populations of Muslims and Hindus.

However, prominent non-Muslim leaders ignored Jinnah's suggestion because they believed in an one nation theory: that all the people of the sub-continent belong to the same nation. Consistent with this belief, they set up a non-theocratic Hindustan or rather Bharat, where all religions would be treated as equal. Later the word secular became popular. Muslim Leaguers continued with their faith in the two-nation theory. They made their state an Islamic one and created conditions which would induce, if not compel, Hindus to leave and go to Hindustan. The west-

ern wing of Pakistan was, within a year or two, rid of nearly all Hindus. This process was known as ethnic cleansing in the aftermath of World War I. Cleansing of Hindus in the eastern wing of Pakistan was slower, and not as widespread nor as comprehensive, even before it became Bangladesh. Nevertheless, the figures are devastating for an Indian as Taslima Nasrin⁷² (in her book *Lajja*) has said. In 1941, the area now comprising Bangladesh, Muslims were 70 percent of the population, while Hindus were 28.3 percent. In 1951, Muslims were 77 percent and Hindus were 22 percent. In 1961, Muslims constituted 80 per cent and Hindus 19 percent. In 1974, there were 85 percent Muslims and 12 percent Hindus. In 1991, Muslims were 87 percent, and Hindus approximately 12 percent. What do we understand from these figures? That every year the number of Muslims was increasing, while that of Hindus was decreasing. What is happening to the Hindus? Where are they going? To India?

Leaders of India also stuck to their notion of secularism. As a result, no real exchange of populations took place and the movement was rather one sided. Fair enough, except that Muslims who remained in Hindustan did not fully accept the reality: that they had to either amalgamate body and soul with secular India or migrate to Pakistan. The leaders of India, with the exception of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, failed to deliver the obvious message to all Muslims which explains the phenomenon of Pakistan demanding Kashmir, most Kashmiri Muslims wishing to secede from India, and above all, Muslim leaders in Hindustan being sympathetic to Kashmiri sentiments.

If Sri Krishna were in command, he would tell Pakistan that it could have Kashmir provided it was prepared to carry the two-nation theory to a logical conclusion and accept that the remaining Muslims in India would go to Pakistan. It can also send its surveyors to every masjid in India and inquire from the *imam* whether Kashmiris could secede from India, and their local followers move to Pakistan. The result of the survey would enable Islamabad to decide whether to pursue its demand for Kashmir, or to drop it for ever. Thus, Sri Krishna would let the Muslims of India as well as the government of Pakistan decide rather than force his wishes on others.

V Domination versus Accommodation

There is a widely held perception in India, that since Muslim invasions first took place, the Hindus almost invariably have had to fall back. Seldom have they been able to get back at the invaders and retrieve losses. Islam in Europe offers a sharp contrast. First, the Muslim invader was not able to penetrate Europe on the same scale as he did in India. Even when he succeeded and conquered, he was paid back in his own coin, sooner or later. Whether in the Balkans, or in Greece, or earlier in Spain, it is the same story of a leopard eventually getting back on another leopard. Like met like. One defeated the other, killed and conquered, but neither was left traumatised to the extent of losing creative abilities as happened to the Hindu between the 13th and 19th centuries.

The Moors invaded the south of Spain in 710AD. After flourishing for some four centuries, they declined considerably, even though the formal end of Muslim rule in the Iberian peninsula took place in 1481. Similarly, in eastern Europe the defeat of Serbians in the historic battle of Kosova in 1389 had similar results.

Thereafter one by one, a total of twelve Christian principalities fell to Muslim invaders. The seat of the Byzantine empire, Constantinople, was conquered in 1453, and the name subsequently Islamised to Istanbul. But unlike in India, Muslim rule did not last long in almost all principalities. Eleven of them had become free as the following table shows:

Hungary	1699
Banat	1718
Bessarabia	1812
Romania	1829
Greece	1830
Bosnia	1878

Cyprus	1878
Serbia	1878
Crete	1878
Bulgaria	1885
Albania	1913

In the words of Stephen P. Ladas,⁷³ *the First Balkan War was short and decisive. When an armistice was declared in December, 1912, the Ottoman Empire had lost practically all its European territories except Constantinople.*

34 *Islam in Europe*

During a journey from Kolkata to Delhi the author had to tell a leftist co-passenger, that his prejudice against nationalism, regretfully meant that they had a soft corner for anything transnational. Workers of the world unite is undoubtedly preferred but as second best they appear to favour pan-Islamism or the world *ummah*. Otherwise, it is difficult to fathom the blind admiration for the martial qualities of a Muslim soldier, even though Muslims have often won remarkable victories, but that probably is not the explanation of the success of Islamic invasions; conquests and rule over large tracts of Hindustan for so many centuries.

Possibly, it is the Hindu worldview whereby all living beings are a part of their universe and their belief that their souls transmigrate. Which explains the Hindu preference for nonviolence and reluctance to kill. This could be at the bottom of Muslim success in India. If the credit is to be given to the Muslim military genius, why did it not achieve similar success in Europe? They made innumerable attempts at doing in Europe what they did to Hindustan.

The first Muslim invasion of Europe took place as early as 710AD when the Moors crossed over to southern Spain. Later, led by the Ottomans, many attempts were made to capture eastern Europe. Some success was achieved in Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia. But eventually every time Christians got back what they had lost to Muslims. The exceptions have been Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania and, of course, what is now the capital of Turkey, Istanbul, which is just inside Europe. Does this mean that in Europe like met like? To convince leftists, three descriptions follow of Islamic adventures in Europe along with their results.

Seven Centuries of Moorish Rule in Southern Spain

The decline of the Byzantine or Eastern Roman empire centred in Constantinople

was hastened by the aggressive vigour of Islamic Arabs. Large areas of North Africa fell to the armies of the Umayyad Khalifa al-Wahid I based in Damascus. By 711 AD, the Arabs had decisively defeated Roderick, the Visigothic king in southern Spain. The victorious general was Tariq ibn Ziyad who rushed to capture Toledo where he believed the legendary treasure of King Solomon was located.

At the time, Spain was easy to dominate because the comparative newcomers Goths and the traditional Hispano-Romans, although both Christians, were jealous of their differences. Before Tariq was recalled by the khalifa to the east, the Moors had most of the Iberian peninsula under their influence. By 756 AD, the distant control of the khalifa via his governor in North Africa, had been replaced by Abdar-Rahman I who founded a dynasty which lasted until 929 AD. It was called the Andalusian Umayyad dynasty. After that, the control of Spain reverted to the khilafat which by then had been taken over by an Abbasid king based in Baghdad from an Umayyad in Damascus. The seat of the Umayyad khalifas was Damascus. The new regime was known as the khilafat or Caliphate of Cordoba or Qurtubah.

Direct Arab rule was largely confined to Andalusia or southern Spain with Granada as the centre. Over the rest of the peninsula, Christian principalities continued to exist. In times of a strong Arab ruler, they were subservient to Granada. At other times, they even fought the Muslims. Many a Christian was converted especially in southern Spain. When the Moorish conquest took place, only about 50,000 of them were estimated to have immigrated. The rest, approximately four million of the Spanish population was Christian. The ratio had changed significantly during Muslim rule although figures are not available.

The culture of the peninsula was greatly influenced by Islam since it was vibrant in the early centuries of its life. Christianity was passing through a passive phase during that period. In the 9th and 10th centuries, Arabic literature flourished. Poetry was a greater favourite than prose. The golden phase, if it could be so called, was during the reign of the poet king al-Mutained. The treatment of Christians however was oppressive, as lucidly set out in *The Oxford History of Islam*.⁷⁴ It observes:

The most pious Muslims refrained from speaking to the infidels except at a distance. If a Muslim and Christian met on a public road, the Christian always had to give way to the Muslim. Houses of Christians had to be lower than those of Muslims. An "infidel" Christian could never employ a Muslim in service. It was forbidden for Christians to learn the Quran or to speak about it to their children, as it was

forbidden for them to speak about Christ with Muslims. Christians could not build new churches or monasteries or repair old ones if they deteriorated, although they could provide minimal maintenance. Churches and chapels had to be kept open day and night should a Muslim traveller wish to find lodging. Church bells could only be sounded softly, voices could not be raised in prayer, and no cross could be placed outside of any building. A priest could not carry a cross or gospel in a visible manner in case he should pass a Muslim. Christians were buried in their own cemeteries, far from Muslims, and funeral processions could not pass through Muslim areas. A Muslim who converted to Christianity was immediately sentenced to death, even if he had formerly been a Christian who converted to Islam. Islamic authorities, concerned that Muslim society not be contaminated and in the attempt to contain rebellion, forced Mozarabs (Christians who adopted Arabic culture, language and lived under the Moorish rule in Spain) to live in special quarters.

With the passage of time, the vigour of the Muslim rulers ebbed. In the 12th century, Christians inflicted several defeats on them and gradually reconquered Jaen, Cordoba, Seville, Murcia, Valencia and a number of other towns across Spain. Another decisive factor was the amalgamation of the Christian principalities of Aragon and Castile. As described in the *Oxford History*, in 1474 Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, husband and wife, succeeded to conjoint but separate thrones. For the first time in nearly eight centuries the Iberian peninsula was governed by one united authority, the Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. The king and queen were to be remembered as "the Catholic monarchs," a measure of their dedication to the reuniting of all of Spain under Christendom. By 1492, they had recovered Granada, the last stronghold of Muslim occupation. With that conquest the struggle for control of Andalusia, which had continued between Muslims and Christians for some eight centuries, ended with a victory for Christianity and control of the Iberian peninsula.

Soon, except for Granada and the tiny area of Crevillente, no independent Islamic dominion remained. The complete disappearance of Muslim rule had to wait until 1481 when Sultan Muley Hacen refused to pay the annual tribute to his Catholic overlord and consequently his principal fortified town of Zahara was seized. Before long, the last bastions of Andalusian Islam were liquidated.

The cardinal reason for describing this phase of Spanish history is to highlight that this part of Europe was conquered but also recovered from the Muslims. This is in sharp contrast to the Indian experience wherein once lost, the Hindu could seldom get back his kingdom.

Greece Restored to Christians in 1829

Christians across eastern Europe consider Tuesday an unpropitious day of the week. It was on a Tuesday, 29th May, 1453 that Candarli Halil Pasha, the Turk, breached the walls of Constantinople and Turkish hordes were allowed to loot the city for three full days. In the words of Professors Vamik D. Volkan and Norman Itzkowitz, Mehmet, the Ottoman Sultan, allowed his troops three days of pillaging in accordance with the dictates of Islamic law. Then he restored order as a pre-requisite to turning the city into the greatest capital of the Islamic world. Later Constantinople was renamed as Istanbul. Although the overwhelming number of its citizens are Muslim, the city still houses the senior most among the patriarchs of the Eastern Church. So dear is the former Constantinople to Christians.

As recently as February 1992, Bulgarian academicians sought an *assurance that the Turks were not coming back!* This demand was in response to a suggestion at an international conference held in Sofia. A few delegates had said that post-communist Bulgaria might have something to learn from the modern Turkish state. Such was Christian memory against Islamic occupation of their country.

Similarly, Serbians are unable to forget their defeat and humiliation in and after 1389 when the Turks defeated them at Kosovo. As reported by some authors, on the 600th anniversary of this event, an ambitious Serbian Communist leader, Slobodan Milosevic, reactivated the Serbs' anguish, declaring at Kosovo, 'Never again!' and the coffin of the defeated Serbian commander began a year long pilgrimage, visiting every village in the country. Ironically, this is the same leader who has now been charged with crimes of ethnic cleansing by the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

It is uncanny that in distant England, the famous leader of the Liberal Party and several times prime minister William Ewart Gladstone⁷⁵ was moved by the repression unleashed by the Ottoman forces in Bulgaria. He promptly came out with a pamphlet. To quote: *they are upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view.*

The atrocities that provoked various reactions in several countries deserve to be recounted. In May 1876, the Ottoman Turks resorted to killing of Christians in Bulgaria as punishment for rebelling in order to win freedom for themselves. The esti-

mated numbers liquidated ranged between 35,000 to 60,000. Christian casualties were, in any case, numerous enough for William Gladstone to publish his views.

An example of the long term oppression of Christian subjects is best quoted from the book *Turks & Greeks*. *While it is true that the dhimmis or zimmi, including the Greeks, were subject to sumptuary laws that limited what they could wear (they were intended for a dual purpose – both to remind the dhimmis of their inferior position and to prevent them from passing as Muslims, especially as Muslims of high rank). For example, neither group could ride horses or carry arms. It is also true that the dhimmis were restrained from building new places of worship; however, they could maintain old places in good repair. Christians could not ring their church bells. Islam punishes apostasy with death which rendered it difficult for non-Muslims to make converts among the Muslims, but Muslims were under no such prohibition in seeking to make converts among the dhimmis.*

But for the greed of the Ottoman rulers everyone probably would have been converted to Islam, as in Turkey. The catch was that the *dhimmis* or protected *kafir* citizens paid *jizyah* or poll tax. Whereas those converted to Islam would not pay the levy thus denying a large chunk of revenue to the Ottoman exchequer. To quote from C.M. Woodhouse,⁷⁶ London, 1968, *the Turks had no desire to lose the heavy taxes Christians ceased to pay if they became Moslem*. Woodhouse has been quoted in the book *Turks and Greeks*.

The Ottoman Turks were equally ruthless with churches as they were with Christians. To quote: *The church of St.Sophia in Constantinople was, at the time of the city's conquest, the sacred architectural masterpiece of the Christian world, unlike anything previously seen by the Seljuk or Ottoman Turks. It was said by Greeks to have been made by divine powers according to a heavenly design, and it struck awe in the hearts of the Turkish conquerors. Begun by Constantine in 325 and rebuilt by Theodosius and Justinian in the wake of fires and earthquakes, the basilica had been the setting for magnificent celebrations, such as coronations and royal weddings.... Christianity's sacred building, with its soft curves and its lighting that suggested infinity, was turned into a mosque and much later would become a museum.... Following older Islamic custom in urban development, Mehmet the Conqueror urged his highest ranking officials to begin the process of converting Christian Constantinople into Muslim Istanbul by taking the crowns of the city's major hills and other important urban sites and constructing there Islamic complexes consisting of mosques, religious schools (medreses), soup kitchens (imarets), hospitals, and baths.*



The great church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul was built by the Byzantine emperor Justinian in the Sixth century. It was transformed into a mosque after the Ottomans conquered Constantinople in 1453, and the minarets were added then

(Courtesy Oxford University Press, New York: John L. Esposito *The Oxford History of Islam*. 1999)



After the Christians reconquered Spain from Muslim rule, many mosques were changed into churches. In Seville, for example, the top of the fifty-meter-high minaret of the Almo-hed mosque, built from 1184 to 1198, was remodelled and transformed into a cathedral bell-tower

(Courtesy Oxford University Press, New York: John L. Esposito *The Oxford History of Islam*, 1999)

The word trauma is repeatedly mentioned in the histories of east European countries which were in conflict with Muslims. They were no doubt deeply wounded and humiliated. The atrocities perpetrated on the Christians were also cruel and severe. The tale is not really different from the one that can be told about the Hindu trauma. The question then is: *what* was different about the European experience as compared with the Hindu's? The critical difference was in the response. Europeans hit back and retrieved what they had lost. Hindus could seldom retaliate.

First let us take the Greeks, who began their uprising in the Morea or the Peloponnesus. There they massacred every Turk they could lay their hands on. Ottoman retaliation matched their violence, and as the revolt continued, the Ottoman sultan sought help from Mehmet Ali, his vassal in Egypt. In 1827, it appeared that Mehmet Ali's forces would capture the last rebel strongholds, but by that time the Greek War of Independence had become an emotional as well as a political issue for western powers. Britain, France, and Russia intervened and sank the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet anchored at Navarino in western Greece. With its fleet destroyed, the Ottomans were forced to sign the Treaty of Adrianople or Edirne in 1829. By this treaty, territory which would ultimately become part of the new state of Romania became a virtual Russian protectorate, and the new small state of Greece was created.

In due course the Serbs, Romanians and Bulgarians aided by Tzarist Russia also revolted. Russia pushed on with its plans to attack the Ottoman Empire, declaring war on 24 April 1877. The Ottomans were unable to raise any support from the European powers and left alone to face the Russians. It was a complete rout, except for the resistance of the city of Plevna under Osman Pasha, with the Russians advancing all the way to Istanbul – to the town of San Stefano which today is Yesilkoy, the location of Istanbul's airport. On 3 March 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano ended hostilities, but the terms of the treaty were too harsh, allowing for an enlarged Serbia, an autonomous Bulgaria extending from the Black Sea to the Aegean and an independent Romania.

In 1878 Bosnia Herzegovina Returns to Christian Rule

In 1875, a rebellion by Christian Serbs ultimately resulted in ending the Ottoman rule over Bosnia Herzegovina. The Bulgarian revolution of 1876 and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 helped decide the fate of Ottoman Bosnia. The sultan had to sign the Treaty of San Stephano. This was followed by the Congress of Berlin which awarded Bosnia Herzegovina to the Austro-Hungarian empire. It took upto

21st April, 1879 for Sultan Abdulhamid II to formally accept the status of this principality as an Austrian protectorate. These events are historic, but the important point was the replacement of Islamic rule by Christian rule. Indian history has seldom witnessed such replacement.

Ottoman rule had lasted over four centuries. Its beginning in 1463 is best recounted in the words of Colin Heywood.⁷⁷ *The History of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first 350 years of Ottoman rule is a difficult, contentious, and still not fully articulated subject. There were domination and conquest; conversion, migration, and revolt; economic growth and decline, intermittent conflict, and deep-seated social transformation; and, to a considerable extent, cultural continuity. At the conclusion of a long chapter (22) that he devotes to the campaign undertaken by Sultan Mehmet II in 1463 that brought about the definitive Ottoman conquest of much of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ottoman historian Tursun Beg, who had taken part in the campaign in the entourage of his patron, the Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasa, remarks:*

All in all, in this blessed campaign, four lands (vilayet) were conquered and incorporated (into the empire): a provincial governor (sancak-begi) and judges (kadilar) were appointed; commissioners (eminler) were placed in charge of the mining operations, and the canonically lawful poll-tax (cizye-I ser't) was levied on the (non-Muslim) subject population (re'aya). From this auspicious campaign, (the sultan) came (again) to Istanbul, the Abode of Government, with immeasurable booty, and riches without end.

The essay goes on to say: *The Bosnian campaign of 1463 constituted a textbook example of Ottoman methods of conquest: brilliantly organized, rapidly concluded, and successful in both its military and political objectives. The Bosnians, lulled into a false sense of security by the granting of a spurious fifteen year truce, were kept unaware of the sultan's intentions. The Ottoman army with the Sultan at its head entered central Bosnia and made for the strong fortress at Bobovac, which, according to one version of events, had already been taken by the advance guard. The sultan advanced to Travnik, where he established his camp. Visoko and a large number of other fortresses surrendered, for the most part without a struggle. The districts that they had controlled became the centers of Ottoman provinces, in which the infidels paid cizye or poll tax.*

Neighbouring Serbia and Montenegro were also conquered in the 15th century, about the same time as Bosnia by Sultan Abdulhamid. Several times during the

18th century, Christian Serbs of both these principalities rebelled, first for autonomy and then for complete independence from Ottoman rule which was achieved in 1878. In 1918, after World War I, the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed as Yugoslavia. In 1945, after the defeat of Adolf Hitler a federal socialist republic was proclaimed under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito. The federation comprised six republics of Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia and Montenegro along with the autonomous provinces in Serbia of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Volkan and Itzkowitz,⁷⁸ the trauma induced by the Ottoman conquests remains a living part of the national psyche in the Balkans as well as Greece. The old wounds reopen from time to time. Even in 2001, Kosovo was burning. Neither Bosnia nor Serbia have yet attained lasting peace.

35 Jerusalem

The Crescent Confronts Star of David and the Cross

Jerusalem can be called the holiest of holy cities. Since all the three Judaic or Semitic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, lay claim to its sacredness. In June, 1967, having captured the old part of the city from Jordan, the Israeli deputy prime minister Yigal Allon reportedly said that the world must reconcile itself to the fact that the city has at last returned to the nation that founded it. Henry Cattan contradicts this claim. True, the Israelis, after their release from Egypt in 1200BC, settled in the holy land. Even truer, King David, after capturing the city from the Canaanites in 1000BC, made it his capital and developed it. The original founders were Canaanites who owed suzerainty to the Pharaohs of Egypt.

King David was succeeded by his son Solomon who constructed the first famous temple which was completed in 962BC. After his 40 year reign, the Jewish state split and in due course became extremely weak to be repeatedly invaded. As recorded by Albert M. Hyamson, Jerusalem was periodically besieged, taken and sacked by the Philistines, the Arabs, the Syrians, the Babylonians and the Egyptians. In 587BC the Babylonians under their great king Nebuchadnezzar attacked and destroyed Jerusalem and burnt the temple.

After 538BC, Cyrus, king of Persia, captured Jerusalem and had the temple rebuilt. Two centuries later came Alexander the Great who converted the Jewish temple into a worship hall for Jupiter. In 40BC, the Romans conquered Palestine, called it Judea and nominated Herod as a vassal king. In 4BC, soon after his death, the Romans took over governance directly. In due course, their rule became oppressive enough for the Jews of Judea to revolt several times. After the first revolt between 66 and 70AD, Titus, the Roman governor, destroyed Jerusalem as well as

the temple. Come 135 AD and Emperor Hadrian had the holy city rebuilt, but did not allow any Jews to settle in it. Jerusalem remained without Jews, not to speak of their temple, until its conquest by Muslim Arabs. So chequered has been its history.

We have overshot the birth of Jesus Christ by several centuries at Bethlehem not far away. It was at Jerusalem that the son of God preached and was eventually crucified and buried. How could any place be holier for Christians? In 312 AD, Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity. Eleven years later, Christianity was made the official religion of the eastern Roman empire now called Byzantium. He had two magnificent churches erected at Jerusalem, the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the church of Golgotha both of which were consecrated in 336 AD.

The queen mother Helena discovered in the vicinity the true cross on which Lord Jesus had been crucified. To commemorate the discovery, she had the Church of Nativity built at Bethlehem and the church of Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Any wonder that Christian pilgrims began to flock to Jerusalem and the Holy Land around it. But that did not mean that the Jews had given up their claim to the city they believed they had founded.

In 614 AD, the Persian king Chosroes II happened to overrun Syria and many Jews who were anxious to regain their holy city, induced the conqueror to pillage Jerusalem. Its inhabitants were massacred, the churches of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre were destroyed and the true cross was taken away. Thirteen years later, the Byzantine emperor Heraclius retaliated by defeating Chosroes and recovered the true cross. As in the days of emperors Hadrian and Constantine, Jews were forbidden from entering Jerusalem. No more than ten years were to elapse before Muslim Arabs captured the holy city.

Peace and goodwill now prevailed between the Muslim rulers and Christian subjects. For example, the Holy Roman emperor Charlemagne was allowed to restore the church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the turn of the millennium, the ruler and caliph happened to be Hakem Bi Amr Illah. He began persecuting Christians and destroying their churches including the church of the Holy Sepulchre. This led to Christian intervention whereby the churches were restored in 1032. Peace, however, proved shortlived, as 40 years later the Seljuk Turks conquered Jerusalem. They were fanatical and provoked Pope Urban II to launch the crusades.

The first holy war proved to be a three year campaign which eventually ended in a Christian victory on 7th June, 1099. The credit goes largely to the French who

contributed the most by way of men, money and leadership. Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen to rule Jerusalem and its environments under the title 'Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.' This Latin rule lasted for 44 years. In 1146, St Bernard an influential French Abbot with the support of King Louis VIII sounded the call for another crusade. Emperor Konrad III in Germany also gave wholehearted support. By the time King Louis reached Jerusalem, he had only ladies and a few soldiers left with him. Konrad's force was a skeleton of the army that he led out from Ratisbon in Germany; he had hoped to gather more crusaders as he proceeded. The war was a rout and in the process the Muslims had avenged themselves.

In 1189, William, the Archbishop of Tyre, situated in modern Lebanon, visited Europe and recounted the humiliation that was being heaped upon the Christians by the Muslims. His accounts proved so moving that even the 67 year old Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman emperor, set out at once for the holy land. On the way, he however drowned in the little river Salef in Silicia. Fortunately, the 31 year old English king Richard I, the Lion Heart, and the 23 year old French king Philip Augustus had also joined the crusade. After some bitter fighting, both King Richard and Sultan Saladin realised the futility of continuing the fighting and on 2 September 1192 they signed a three year peace which partitioned Palestine.

The arrangement however did not prove satisfactory over a period of time. Although King Richard had liberated several coastal towns of Palestine, Jerusalem had been left in Muslim hands. Innocent III, who became Pope in 1198, demanded a fourth crusade. The powerful city state of Venice was persuaded to lead the new holy war. Due to the prevarication of the Byzantine rulers, the Venetians had to first conquer Constantinople. Having done so, they unfortunately fell prey to the temptation of pillaging the treasures of the city. It was not before 1204 that some thought was given to the holy war. However, without much fighting, the Christian effort collapsed. A fifth crusade was led by the Hungarian King Andrew who decided to first capture Damietta at the easternmost mouth of the river Nile. After some fighting, it was given up in exchange for an eight year truce which was signed between the crusaders and the sultan of Egypt and the Turk, Malik al-Kamil.

Three more holy wars were fought without any decisive outcome in favour of the Christians. Jerusalem still remained, after two centuries of war, in the hands of Muslims. Christian pilgrims to the holy land became fewer and fewer. The apologists for the crusades however have claimed that but for the holy wars, the Seljuk Turks would have been stronger and would have captured Constantinople long

before 1453, which had in fact provoked Pope Urban II to mobilise for the first crusade.

What has been described so far is of Jerusalem passing from the pagans to the Jews to the Romans to the Christians. We now move to the Islamic period and describe how Jerusalem was not only ruled by the Muslims but also how it became their holy place. In fact, it is the holiest Muslim city after Mecca and Medina. There is a rock in the holy city which is believed to bear the mark of the footprint of Prophet Muhammad when he ascended to heaven during his night journey. Caliph Abdul Malek had a splendid mosque built on the spot. It is known as the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock. A mosque called Omari was also built near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre because that is where the second Caliph Omar had prayed during his visit to Jerusalem. So was erected the famous Mosque of Al-Aqsa. Two more Haram Al-Sharif or noble shrines were built during the period. These five are the sacred sanctuaries which the Muslims usually visit when they go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Until the implementation of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I, Jerusalem remained as a part of the Ottoman empire ruled from Istanbul. The citizens were a mix of Christians, Jews and Muslims. In 1917, Palestine was released from the Ottoman yoke, to be ruled under British mandate, with Jerusalem as the capital. Bloody confrontations took place, especially between the Jewish and Muslim inhabitants, right until 1948 when the British pulled out. Transjordan under king Abdullah captured the old part of Jerusalem, while the rest was taken by Israel and declared as its capital city.

It is difficult to keep count of how many times Jerusalem changed hands. Each time, there was bloodshed and most of the time places of worship were either damaged or desecrated. Even those places which commemorated either the birth of Jesus Christ or the final departure of Prophet Muhammad were not spared. So ruthless were the ways of the people who fought one another for the sake of God and religion. The readers can judge the value norms of the people who participated in the tugs of tussle for Jerusalem and their attitude towards violence, bloodshed and desecration.

36 *Taliban*

Example of Dar-ul Islam

When the Taliban ordered the Hindus in Afghanistan to wear yellow in order not be mistaken as Muslims many including senators in the USA felt upset. There was similar outrage earlier during the Bamiyan episode, when rare statues of Lord Buddha were destroyed. However much one might disapprove of them, to call the Taliban barbaric is incorrect. They are undoubtedly fundamentalist, as well as obscurantist, but these elements do not add up to their being barbaric.

To be made to wear yellow meant being declared as a protected citizen or a *zimmi*. Someone who was not a *momin* but a non-believer who had paid his taxes or *jizyah*. This tradition of levying poll tax originated in the Holy Quran. A non-Muslim subject of a Muslim state belonging to the Jewish, Christian, or Sabeian creed by the payment of a poll tax, enjoyed security of person and property in a Muhammadan country. To adhere to this tradition was to be faithful to the Book. In Judaic ethos, humanity has invariably been classified into at least two sections; the faithful and non-believers. There were the Jews and the gentiles, the Christians and the heathens, the *momin*s and the *kafirs*. The Taliban was being forthright. Christians are theologically discriminatory about the heathens, although in practice they are less candid about their beliefs. Nevertheless, evangelists continue to proselytize in many parts of the world. His Holiness, the Pope, as recently as 2000 AD, declared that there was a harvest of souls to be reaped in Asia. It also needs to be remembered that Christian theology did not provide any formal option to the non-believers. Communists were openly totalitarian and gave no space to any one who happened to differ. Any one who was even remotely bourgeois was either exiled or liquidated. Whereas the Muslims did allow an alternative by offering to confer a *zimmi* status for those prepared to pay *jizyah*. The status carried preconditions such as wearing yellow for the Jews and blue for the Christians. Hindus and others came

to be offered this status after the conquest of Hindustan. The Pact of Umar II signed with the Jews and Christians is relevant. Umar II ruled as Khalifa at Mecca between 717 AD and 720 AD. In his endeavour to preserve the integrity of the khilafat or the caliphate, he opened many dialogues with other communities. The pact being quoted is the result of such a dialogue. What the others conceded to Umar II⁷⁹ is quoted.

We shall not build in our cities or in their vicinity any new monasteries, churches, hermitages, or monks' cells. We shall not restore, by night or by day, any of them that have fallen into ruin or which are located in the Muslims' quarters.

We shall keep our gates wide open for the passerby and travellers. We shall provide three days' food and lodging to any Muslims who pass our way.

We shall not shelter any spy in our churches or in our homes, nor shall we hide him from the Muslims.

We shall not teach our children the Koran.

We shall not hold public religious ceremonies. We shall not seek to proselytise anyone. We shall not prevent any of our kin from embracing Islam if they so desire.

We shall show deference to the Muslims and shall rise from our seats when they wish to sit down.

We shall not attempt to resemble the Muslims in any way.

We shall not ride on saddle.

We shall not wear swords or bear weapons of any kind, or even carry them with us.

We shall not sell wines.

We shall clip the forelocks of our head.

We shall not display our books anywhere in the Muslims thoroughfares or in their marketplaces. We shall only beat our clappers in our churches very quietly. We shall not raise our voices when reciting the service in our churches, nor when in the presence of Muslims. Neither shall we raise our voices in our funeral processions.

We shall not build our homes higher than theirs.

In fact, the Taliban are *absolute* fundamentalists. A fundamentalist is one who follows and quotes the holy scriptures in any argument. The expression *fundamentalist* was first used in the USA soon after World War I, when Charles Darwin's theory of evolution had begun to spread. Since it contradicts the teachings of the Holy Bible as to how the world came into being, it offended many Christians. The orthodox amongst them quoted line and verse from the Bible as to how God created the universe in six days and rested on the seventh. The evolutionist liberals called these orthodox Christians as fundamentalists. The Taliban in the 21st century epitomizes an example *par excellence* of fundamentalism. But such absolute faith, however ill suited to this century, is not barbarism. Fanatical, zealous, dogmatic, bigoted yes but barbaric no. Such condemnation would amount to running down one of the world's great religions.

The Bamiyan episode and the iconoclasm it personified made Hindus virtually weep. Hindus feel the same way when they visit the Udaygiri caves near Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh. But to someone wedded to another philosophy, such destruction must have appeared pious. The cornerstone of the Judaic ethos has been monotheism or an absolute faith in one god. In the eyes of a Jew, a Christian or a Muslim, even a suggestion, or a hint of an alternative deity to his God is abominable. Which explains the objection to the sight of an idol or an image for possible worship. Prophet Muhammad was so scrupulous that he did not distinguish between an idol for worship and an ordinary statue. He did not want to take any chance by allowing any discretion of choice to his followers. He therefore did not permit the use of imagery whether of animal, man or god. Portraits, statues, paintings etc. were forbidden, lest they attracted devotion in competition to Allah. This commandment applied not only for the future but the Prophet also saw danger even in the past, in all idols and statues that existed.

As the *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*⁸⁰ puts it, *all the accumulation of heathendom, which had gathered round the Kaba, was now thrust aside. 360 idols are said to have stood around the building. When touched with the Prophet's rod they all fell to the ground. The statue of Hubal which 'Amr b. Luhayy is said to have erected over the pit inside the Kaba was removed as well as the representations of the prophets.* In the light of this command, what the Taliban did at Bamiyan was in consonance with the fundamentals of their faith.

Merely because such distinction today seems incongruous, does not necessarily amount to its being barbaric. What the Taliban was doing to the women of Afghanistan also appears unacceptable. Yet it was Islam that in the seventh century res-

cued Arabian womenfolk from the degradation of their being mere chattels. A woman then formed an integral part of the estate of her husband or father. Hence the frequent unions between stepsons and mothers-in-law which were forbidden by Islam under the name of *mikahu'l-Maqt* or odious marriages.⁸¹ The fault with Taliban was that they were imposing principles of conduct that were relevant to Muslims 1,400 years ago in Arabia, and should have changed since. But they insisted on being consistent with the pristine fundamentals of Islam.

37 *Separatism in China*

During a fortnight's tour of Chinese cities by air as well as road and rail, the author came across only four obvious Muslims. An elderly couple dressed in long robes; the man wore a white cap and a beard with shaven upper lip. The lady also wore a robe and had a veil thrown over her head. They were visiting the Great Wall. The other two, who appeared to be businessmen, were at Beijing airport. All other Muslims that the author might have seen were sinicised and therefore could not be separately identified.

It is however estimated that there are up to 50 million Muslims in China. Say a little less than four percent of the total population of 1,300 million. In any case, the Hans comprise 91 percent and all the minorities taken together make up the remaining nine percent including Mongols, Manchus and Tibetans. The Muslim experience in China has been long and chequered, ranging from abject subservience to complete secession. It is not widely known that Sinkiang, now called Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, had seceded from China. In the wake of the revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat Sen in 1911, Sinkiang in practice became autonomous, if not also independent.

Between 1925 and 1948 the writ of the Kuomintang (KMT) government of Chiang Kai-Shek did not run in western China. The Muslim province of Sinkiang went to the extent of seceding from the country. This was an example of the Muslim desire for a separate space for the flourishing of Islam. Dar-ul Islam is the first choice. Dar-ul Harb is a land under strife. When such a takeover has no prospect, Muslims try to set up a separate state. The Muslim community in China could never hope to take over the whole country. As soon as Mao Zedong unfurled the communist red flag at Peking, now Beijing, in 1949 and restituted central authority, the return of Sinkiang to being a province of China could not be far. In January 1945, it had officially seceded under the name and style of Eastern Turkistan Republic.

Incidentally, local leaders had friendly ties with the neighbouring Soviet Republics of Central Asia. The Sinkiang League for the Protection of Peace and Democracy, primarily consisting of Muslims, was opposed to the Peoples Republic of China when it was inaugurated under the leadership of Mao Zedong in 1949. During the same year, there was a mysterious airplane crash which killed many of the League leaders.

With the resulting collapse of the League, according to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, Burhan and Saiffuddin, Muslim leaders of non-Chinese origin, worked out an agreement with the government at Beijing. Thus was inaugurated the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, with Saifuddin as its first governor. Tibet is also an autonomous region and is situated south of Sinkiang or Xinjiang. Sinicisation or assimilation appears to be the consistent goal of the government of Beijing.

The Muslims, on their part, have over the centuries followed a two-fold policy. First to increase their population. Second, to preserve their distinct identity. Going by the *Encyclopaedia*, there are records dating back to the Ming dynasty in the 14th century. The Mings were quite tolerant; yet they insisted on the Muslims learning the Chinese language and adopting their dress. Moreover, tablets had to be erected near the mosques pledging the worshippers' loyalty to the Chinese emperor.

Having done so, the Muslims, induced several members of the community to learn Arabic and Persian to be in touch with Islamic theology and other literature. They encouraged *Hajj* or the pilgrimage to Mecca. Since many a Muslim in those days was a merchant, interpreter or a horse groom, he had ample opportunity to meet his fellow religionists from neighbouring areas.

Ming rulers encouraged Muslim men to marry Chinese women or rather Han women in the hope of gradually assimilating the community. Contrary to Ming expectations, the children were brought up as Muslim. As a result, the Islamic community grew. Moreover, its wealthy families bought or adopted Chinese boys and in due course got them to marry their daughters. Anyone considered a convert from the Chinese was called 'Hui' while the non-Chinese were identified by their respective ethnic groups like Turk and Kazakh.

The Manchus, who overthrew the Mings in 1644, were less tolerant. They sought to resolve the Muslim problem through an expansionist policy and endeavoured to conquer those parts of Central Asia whose people instigated the Uighur Turks against Beijing. During peaceful periods, the Ching or Manchu rulers tried

to be friendly with the Muslims whether of Sinkiang or of Central Asia. Nevertheless, relations were seldom truly cordial. As an illustration, early in the 18th century, Beijing had to impose a moratorium on the construction of mosques. Moreover, ethnic Chinese were made to emigrate and settle in Sinkiang. Ostensibly for the purpose of promoting agriculture and mining.

Not all Manchu efforts were able to achieve assimilation. In the 18th century, several Islamic thinkers emerged. The neighbouring province Kansu, now called Gansu, produced Ma Ming-Insin who became an eminent Sufi. He belonged to *Naqshbandi* order which is familiar in India also. As Professor Morris Rossabi puts it, the ultimate logic of Ma's views was the establishment of a Muslim state along China's borders. There were a series of rebellions beginning from 1781 and carrying on until 1832 when a Khwaja Muhammad Yusuf assumed leadership. The most devastating of the rebellions however took place in 1862 in the Shensi area. It was led by a Chinese Muslim called Ma Hua-lung. From his base in the Kansu province, he gave a call for independence from China. The Hans therefore increasingly suspected the loyalties of their Islamic compatriots. A great deal of gossip flourished among common people, especially around the Muslim prejudice against liquor and pork. Nor could the Chinese appreciate the significance behind *Ramadan* fasting and other similar occasions. Any wonder that Sinkiang seceded in 1945. It was brought back into the Chinese fold through compulsion after the Maoist revolution.

38 *Chisti Inspired Ghauri*

It is not difficult for anyone residing in a particular part of South Delhi to see pilgrims going to the dargah of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia in New Delhi. The devotees are mainly Muslim, but quite a few Hindus also offer prayers there. Similarly, Ajmer Sharief is also popular with Hindus.

Many people who wear secularism on their sleeve feel proud of their Hindu community for worshipping at a Muslim shrine. Anyone should have the freedom to go to any place where he/she obtains comfort and reassurance. All to the good for happiness. But it seems an irony that a lover of his motherland should bend, bow and pray before the grave of a man who instigated Muhammad Ghauri to invade India and win the second battle of Tarain where Prithviraj Chauhan was defeated and killed. It was not an isolated invasion. It inaugurated the spread of foreign rule in Hindustan.

Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Hasan Chisti was in the vanguard of Islamic invaders who stayed back to rule. According to Maulana Ghulam Ghareeb Nawaz Ajmeri in his biography of the Hazrat, (published by Saeed International (Regd), 2000 AD), Khwaja Moinuddin entered the boundaries of India in 1191 AD. After a 40 day halt at Lahore he moved on towards Delhi and eventually chose to settle at Ajmer. He chose a small hill near Anasagar lake, not far from Taragarh fort which was the abode of Raja Prithviraj Chauhan. As the raja began to suspect the Khwaja of being an undesirable influence he wanted the Khwaja to leave Ajmer.

Instead of leaving, the Khwaja, according to his biographer, appealed to Allah for guidance. In answer to his appeal, he reportedly saw a vision whose message was that the raja would be captured alive and his kingdom snatched away. Not long thereafter, quite uncannily, Raja Jaichand Rathore of Kanauj began to distance

himself from Prithviraj, until eventually he withdrew from the alliance. This fissure, according to Ghareeb Nawaz, opened up an opportunity for Sultan Shahabuddin alias Muhammad Ghauri to come back after about two years to India and attack Prithviraj.

In the meantime, continues Ghareeb Nawaz, Ghauri in Afghanistan dreamt one night that a saint expressly directed him to attack India and assured him that he would be victorious this time over Prithviraj and the sovereignty of India was to be bestowed on him. *In the previous years, before the arrival of Hazrat Khwaja-e-Azam, Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori had been defeated in India by Rajah Prithviraj two times and had to flee to his country.* In other words, but for the instigation of the Khwaja, Ghauri may not have gathered courage to come again.

On the advice of the Khwaja, Sultan Ghauri, after his arrival in Lahore, sent a message to Chauhan that he would not proceed with his invasion and, on the contrary, protect Ajmer, provided Prithviraj agreed to become a Muslim. This message proved very provocative and the Raja of Ajmer prepared for a third war with Ghauri. Both the armies reached the banks of the Saraswati and faced each other across the river. Prithviraj expressed contempt for Ghauri's proposal for a religion change and in his reply, according to another biography,⁸² (entitled *Hindal Vali Ghareeb Nawaz*, written by Munshi Abdul Hameed Bihari and published by Hameedia Book Depot of Dargah Sharief Ajmer 1978) wrote that he had more soldiers than there were stars in the firmament. And more are gathering from various directions. It was therefore in the interests of the young Turk and Afghan soldiers that you have brought with you that they return home, otherwise, they would stand to be massacred in battle.

Chauhan's anger was not confined to Ghauri because earlier Hazrat Moinuddin had told him at Ajmer that it was in the raja's interest that he convert to Islam. Otherwise, a big calamity would overtake him. Instead of getting provoked, Ghauri resorted to a subterfuge; assured the raja that the proposed invasion was not his own idea but he was acting on the advice of his revered brother. On hearing from Chauhan, he again sought the brother's instructions and again requested Prithviraj for some truce time for a reply. According to Hameed, this conciliatory attitude caused the Rajputs to relax. Seeing them thus, Ghauri mobilised his troops the same evening and attacked at dawn. So chivalrous and truthful indeed was the disciple of Hazrat Moinuddin Chishti! Now you see how and why it is sad that so many Indians pay their obeisance to the instigator of an invader.

Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi Sirhindi was another *alim* who was enthusiastic about expanding the *ulema* by impoverishing the *kafirs* and humiliating them. He felt this was particularly necessary because Emperor Akbar, by introducing *Din-e-Ilahi*, or a synthesis of several religions and taking other such measures, had blunted the edge of Islam.

Sirhindi, therefore, recommended at the beginning of the Jahangir reign the re-introduction of *jizyah* as well as spreading the practice of cow slaughter. As lucidly set out by Saiyid A.A. Rizvi⁸³ (in his book, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India* published by Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd., New Delhi in 1993), the *kafirs* should have no parity with the Muslims. They should not consider themselves equal to the Muslims and should confine themselves to their own professions. *Shariat can be fostered through the sword was the slogan he raised. The dishonour of the kafirs was an act of highest grace for the Muslims. The most important demand of religion, according to Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi Sirhindi was to launch a crusade against the kafirs.*

39 Slavery in Medieval India

The author grew up with a strange image of slavery, perhaps because he had read a biography of Abraham Lincoln as well as seen the epic movie *Gone With The Wind*, which left an implicit impression of slavery in America. He hails from Jafra-bad, a fishing village on the south coast of Saurashtra, Gujarat, which was part of the kingdom, until 1947, of a slave prince who was popularly known as the Sidi Nawab of Janjira. As a result, the image formed was that slaves were black.

Recently he was shaken out of this mindset by a book called *Muslim Slave System in Medieval India* by K.S. Lal⁸⁴ (Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi 1994.) Apart from many other details, the book lists the prices of slaves in Alauddin Khilji's kingdom. The price of a working girl ranged between 5 and 12 tankahs, which were probably like the modern rupee. That of a girl suitable for concubinage 20 to 40 tankahs. The price of a man slave called *ghulam* ranged between 100 and 200 tankhas; handsome boys cost 20 to 30 tankhas. A child slave cost between 70 and 80 tankhas. *The slaves were classified according to their looks and working capacity. In the case of bulk purchases by traders who had ready money and who had the means to carry their flock for sale to other cities, prices were fixed accordingly.*

It was Muhammad bin Qasim who introduced slavery in India according to the *chachnama* or chronicle by Al Kufi, which is referred to by Lal⁸⁵ in another book. (*The Legacy of Muslim Rule in India*, Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi, 1992.) *After the capture of the fort of Rawar by Qasim the prisoner count was found to be about 30,000. One-fifth of this including several princesses were sent to Hajjaj, the chief general who was stationed in Arabia. His standing instructions to Qasim were to give no quarter to infidels but to cut their throats and take the women and children as captives.*

The invaders persisted with the practice of slavery right through the middle ages, and in fact till British rulers abolished slavery in India by legislation called Act 5 of 1843. By this law, British courts were prohibited from enforcing any claims on a slave. It was only in 1861 that the Penal Code made the holding of a slave, a crime. In effect, slavery enjoyed Islamic legitimacy for some eleven centuries in Hindustan.

Taking an example of the legitimacy, surah iv.3 of the Holy Quran says that Muslims are allowed to cohabit with any of their female slaves. Surah iv.28 permits Muslims to take possession of married women if they are slaves. Surah xxiii.5 excuses Muslims from strict rules of decorum in the presence of their female slaves.

The Dictionary of Islam,⁸⁶ (by Thomas Patrick Hughes, Rupa & Company, New Delhi, 1999, originally published in 1885 by W.H. Allen in London) sums up the Quranic attitude to slavery: *all male and female slaves taken as plunder in war are the lawful property of their masters*. The Hadis or the Traditions of Islam as quoted in the *Dictionary* exhorted the master to be kind to his slaves. To the extent that if a captive embraced Islam on the field of battle, he was a free man. But if he is converted afterwards, he was not emancipated.

Hidayah or Guidance,⁸⁷ (an authoritative book on Sunni law by Shaikh Burhanuddin Ali, as quoted in the *Dictionary*) states that a capturer can either free a prisoner or make him a slave. It is his discretion when to make him either free, or make him a *zimmi* or a protected citizen. Incidentally, *Hidayah* prescribed a law of sale and, according to it, slaves were merely articles of merchandise. The approach to the sale of a slave was rather like that of animals.

Several of the exploits of Mahmud Ghazni are, according to Lal, recorded in Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabqat-I-Akbari* which states that *Mahmud obtained great spoils and a large number of slaves. Next year from Thanesar, according to Farishta, the Muhammadan army brought to Ghazni 200,000 captives so that the capital appeared like an Indian city, for every soldier of the army had several slave girls.*

Muhammad Ghauri was no less an effective capturer of slaves. Here Lal quotes *Fakhr-I-Mudabbir* that *as a result of the Muslim achievements under Muhammad Ghori and Qutbuddin Aibak even a poor householder (or soldier), who did not possess a single slave before, became the owner of numerous slaves of all descriptions.*

For Sultan Iltutmish, Lal quotes Minhaj Siraj Jurjani. He attacked Gwalior and captured a large number of prisoners and made them slaves. Ghiasuddin Balban was no less an achiever in this field as were the Khiljis and Tughlaqs who followed in the sultanate of Delhi. Ziyauddin Barani describes a slave market of Delhi. There is also mention of Firoz Tughlaq who was reputed to have collected 180,000 slaves through various ways, whether captured in war, in lieu of revenue or as presents from noblemen. With such large supplies, inevitably a regular trade in slaves developed and many of them were exported abroad. Minhaj has written about Indian slaves in Khurasan, in present day Iran.

The intention in highlighting the practice of slavery by the invaders is not to dig up the past, or reopen old wounds. The intention is to illustrate why and how the Hindu Muslim divide is so deep. Most Indians do not know about the large number of temples that were desecrated and turned into mosques and mausoleums. Even fewer know about the cruelty perpetrated on the Hindus through slavery. Cruelty inflicted on a large scale and in repeated succession would leave behind indelible scars in the collective memory. The quiet hatred of Muslims in most Hindu hearts is evidence of these scars.

40 *Hindu Muslim Schism*

Not many days after the Independence Day of 2001, the author had an extraordinary encounter with an old German acquaintance. He had met Helmut Schiller in Cologne in 1961. They had tasted tea together for about three months and had become friendly. The contact thereafter was postal and intermittent. Surprisingly, Helmut's spoken English had become much better than it was 40 years ago. During dinner, he expressed surprise at what he had read in the press about a number of Indian leaders going to the Pakistani border on 14 August to light candles for peace and to distribute sweets of goodwill. He had also read somewhere that both Messrs I.K. Gujral and Kuldip Nayar had to abandon their homes and emigrate to India in 1947. How then are they able to be so friendly with the Pakistanis? Have they forgotten the atrocities committed on the Hindus in 1947?

To divert the conversation to a less controversial plane, the author used the argument, however nebulous, that even East Germans had run away from their homes and taken refuge across the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin. Helmut took the liberty, for old times sake, to tell the author that he was talking nonsense. The East Germans were running away from communist Russians and their puppets. They had not run away from their own people. We Germans, he went on, throughout felt like one nation and the partition was imposed by Moscow. Whereas yours was negotiated by your own leaders. And, of course, as far as he knew, there was a historical schism between the Hindus and the Muslims.

The Hindu Muslim divide was as old as the invasions of India by the Afghans, Turks, Iranians *et al.* Pre-Islamic invaders must have been equally ruthless, but they did not retain their separate identity. They dissolved themselves into the local social milieu which was Hindu. Muslims, on the other hand, not only retained their Islamic identity but also made efforts to convert the local populace. Those who did not convert, became victims of the poll tax or *jizyah* and were looked upon as *zim-*

mies or protected citizens. Moreover, many a conqueror tried to establish a Dar-ul Islam in his kingdom and rule according to the Sharia as brought out by Professor S. Abid Hussain,⁸⁸ in his book *The National Culture of India* published by the National Book Trust, 1972.

It was therefore not surprising that in their heart of hearts, Hindus have grown up to hate the Muslims. At the same time, by and large, the Muslim harbours a contempt for the Hindu. This mutual attitude reflects the Hindu Muslim equation right through the centuries until the British began to assume power in Hindustan. Until then, the Muslim was the ruler and the Hindu the subject, across large tracts of the country. No doubt, there was a phase when the Marathas gained influence, but their domination was neither permanent nor widespread enough to correct the Hindu Muslim imbalance that had grown over the centuries. This imbalance explains why there is no record of communal riots until after 1858 when the British crown directly assumed governance. How can there be a riot between the ruler and his slaves? Riots can only take place when there is a semblance of equality.

The advent of the British signalled the defeat of those princes who were in power. Much more of India was ruled by nawabs than by rajas. The Mughal emperor was the titular head of the country; even the Marathas acknowledged him as such. The defeat was complete and formal when the rebellion of 1857 failed. As the British became rulers, the Muslims as well as Hindus became subjects. Thus equality was established for the first time. For the Hindus, it was a mighty relief that they had ceased to be either *zimmies* or *jizyah* payers. The British were impartial rulers who acted as umpires between the two communities.

These are 'facts'. Yet, the myth of divide and rule has been created. Evidently, neither British scholars nor rulers were able to nip it in the bud. Surely, they could not have relished being accused of such an unscrupulous policy. Which indicates that there is yet another myth: that our history has been written with bias only because the British did so while they ruled the country. They must have intervened and favoured positions that served British interests. At the same time, bias was not all theirs. Our own scholars and politicians also played their part in twisting historical conclusions. And herein the greater responsibility must lie with anti-Hindu Hindus. For the simple reason that Muslim leaders were forthright.

Maulana Muhammad Ali, who was the principal lieutenant of Gandhi during his *Khilafat* movement in 1920-21, refused to join him in the second campaign in 1930. At a meeting of the All India Muslim Conference at Bombay in April 1930,

attended by over 20,000 Muslims, he bluntly stated: *We refuse to join Mr Gandhi because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India but for making the seventy millions of Indian Musalmans dependents of the Hindu Mahasabha.* He made no secret of the fact that the Muslims, as a whole, were guided by Pan-Islamism. He told members of the Round Table Conference that Islam was not confined to India. *I belong, said he, to two circles of equal size but which are not concentric. One is India and the other is the Muslim World... We are not nationalists but supranationalists.* In his address as Congress President in 1923 he reminded the audience that extraterritorial sympathies were a part of the quintessence of Islam, as recorded by R.C. Majumdar⁸⁹ (*History of the Freedom Movement in India Volume III* by R.C. Majumdar. Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1977).

As is well known, Muhammad Ali and his brother, Shaukat Ali, were followers of Mahatma Gandhi when he led the *khilafat* movement to protect the throne of the Sultan of Turkey and the *khilafat* of all Sunni Muslims in the world. They lost all interest in Gandhiji when, in 1924, Kemal Ataturk, the Turkish general, exiled the sultan and abolished *khilafat*.

Now read a few highlights from the *Lal Ishtihar* or the *Red Pamphlet*⁹⁰ written by one Ibrahim Khan of Mymensingh district of East Bengal early in the 20th century, page 108, Volume II by R.C. Majumdar, 1975. *Ye Musalmans arise, awake! Do not read in the same schools with Hindus. Do not buy anything from a Hindu shop. Do not touch any article manufactured by Hindu hands. Do not give any employment to a Hindu. Do not accept any degrading office under a Hindu. You are ignorant, but if you acquire knowledge you can at once send all Hindus to jehannum (hell). You form the majority of the population of this province. Among the cultivators also you form the majority. It is agriculture that is the source of wealth. The Hindu has no wealth of his own and has made himself rich only by despoiling you or your wealth. If you become sufficiently enlightened, then the Hindus will starve and soon become Mahomedans.*

Hindus are very selfish. As the progress of Mahomedans is inimical to the self-aggrandisement of Hindus, the latter will always oppose Mahomedan progress for their selfish ends. Be united in boycotting Hindus. What dire mischief have they not done to us! They have robbed us of honour and wealth. They have deprived us of our daily bread. And now they are going to deprive us of our very life.

Evidently, these are not the ravings of a normal person. Yet the depth of emotion reflects the deep divide between the two communities. British manipulation to

divide Indians could not add up to such venom nor would any administration responsible for law and order possibly encourage such thoughts. Which does not mean that the British did not take tactical advantage of the differences, in order to sustain their rule. The point is that the divide was old and deep and the British were the beneficiaries.

Dr B.R. Ambedkar⁹¹ has stressed the deep divide between the Hindus and the Muslims with an European example. To quote: *Like the Christians and Moslems in the Turkish Empire, the Hindus and Moslems of India have met as enemies on many fields, and the result of the struggle has often brought them into the relation of conquerors and conquered. Whichever party has triumphed, a great gulf has remained fixed between the two and their enforced political union either under the Moghals or the British instead of passing over, as in so many other cases, into organic unity, has only accentuated their mutual antipathy. Neither religion nor social code can bridge this gulf. The two faiths are mutually exclusive and at their core and centre are irreconcilable. There seems to be an inherent antagonism between the two which centuries have not been able to dissolve.*

Decades have gone by since the British left the sub-continent. Yet the tension between the two communities abounds. Why? Because, as Prof. S. Abid Husain⁹² has lucidly explained, like other Indian communities and most Asian peoples, while honouring as sacred values of patriotism and loyalty to the state, Muslims are unanimous in rejecting what western nations explicitly believe as priority of country or state over religion. (*The National Culture of India*, National Book Trust, 1972).

The Hindu confirmation of these Muslim contentions is given by Nirad C. Chaudhuri⁹³ (in his *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, published by MacMillan & Company Limited, London, 1951). *When I see the gigantic catastrophe of Hindu Muslim discord of these days I am not surprised, because we as children held the tiny mustard seed in our hands and sowed it very diligently. In fact, this conflict was implicit in the very unfolding of our history, and could hardly be avoided. Heaven preserve me from dishonesty, so general among Indians, of attributing this conflict to British rule, however much the foreign rulers might have profited by it. Indeed they would have been excusable only as gods, and not as man the political animal, had they made no use of the weapon so assiduously manufactured by us, and by us also put into their hands. But even then they did not make use of it to the extent they might easily have done. This, I know, is a very controversial the-*

sis, but I think it can be easily proved if we do not turn a blind eye to the facts of our history.

A British view of schism between the two communities is provided by Sir Percival Griffiths,⁹⁴ ICS, in his book, *The British Impact on India*, Macdonald & Company Limited, London, 1952. *India stood sharply divided between Hindus and Muslims. The feelings between them were much what could be expected, since one community had been dominant and the other subject, and often, though not always, oppressed. What is today called communal dissension was thus the permanent and inevitable legacy of centuries of Muslim rule.*

Much has been made of the separate electorates as an attempt by the British to divide and rule. Here is what Sir Percival had to say: *Indian politicians have bitterly reproached Britain for introducing the principle of communal electorates in the Morley-Minto reforms. In reality there was no practical alternative. If semi-parliamentary bodies such as the Morley-Minto Councils were to mean anything at all, it was essential that all communities should be genuinely represented in them. The gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims at that time was wide, and nobody with experience of modern India will doubt that under any system of joint electorates the Hindus would have secured the return of non representative Muslims. The philosopher might deplore the fact that Hindus and Muslims thought themselves as separate peoples, but the statesman had to accept it. The fears of the Muslims were real and deep seated. When the Congress leaders some years later formed a temporary alliance with the Muslims, they too had to recognise those fears; perhaps the greatest justification of the British establishment of communal electorates lies in the fact that they were recognised in 1916 by the Lucknow Pact.*

He continued: *the result was the Lucknow Pact of 1916, according to which the Muslim League joined in the demand for self-government at an early date, while the Congress accepted separate electorates for Muslim members of the Council and agreed to the principle of 'weightage' for minorities.*

41 *Horrors of Partition*

The recurring tension between India and Pakistan is in many ways reminiscent of the situation in the sub-continent during 1946. The Muslim League had then called its policy Direct Action. The action was inaugurated on 16th August, 1946 by massacring some 20,000 people in the course of three days at Calcutta, now Kolkata. Innumerable shops were set on fire while hundreds of houses were destroyed.

Today the expression used is either proxy war or a freedom struggle in Kashmir. However, the stridency in the voices of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah then, and President Musharraf now is comparable. However, there is one difference, Jinnah and his colleagues had thought through their two nation theory and the long term implications of partition. To illustrate this point, Pir Ilahi Bux, the Sindh leader had said *he welcomed an exchange of population for the safety of minorities as such an exchange would put an end to all communal disturbances.*⁹⁵ Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot had declared with great enthusiasm that *the exchange of population offered a most practical solution of the multifarious problems of the Muslims.*⁹⁶ Above all, on 25th November, 1946, Jinnah, addressing a press conference at Karachi, expressed the opinion that *the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population.*⁹⁷ In contrast, Musharraf keeps repeating that the core issue between India and Pakistan is Kashmir without spelling out what is his follow-up proposal.

It is quite possible that the Pakistani President is not *au fait* with what actually happened between 1946 and 1948. He was too young then to know and thereafter his preoccupation may have been with his career which, incidentally, was not public life but that of a professional soldier. Like Musharraf, there must be many including the young *ulema* who are blissfully unaware of the fire with which the Muslim League played, and in the process what it destroyed.

By April 1946, Sir Feroze Khan Noon had evidently become impatient with the Congress leaders for not agreeing to an exchange of population. In a speech made to the Muslim League legislators on the 9th of that month, he had threatened to re-enact the murderous orgies of Changez Khan and Halaqu Khan if the non-Muslims took up a stubborn attitude. His was no idle threat. His followers were faithful to his call and put in practice the murderous orgies. Let us quote Ian Talbot:⁹⁸ *At Roda village in Khushab Tehsil of the Punjab, the wealthy Batras of Girot and Mitha Tiwana resisted for two days. Ultimately, twenty three members of the family were arrested on false murder charges. They were safely evacuated only after expending huge sums of money to buy off their accusers. Bhagat Ram Chand, for example, handed over Rs.35,000 in hard cash. Mokam Singh a well known Sikh landowner of the Thal suffered a more nightmarish fate. He led the resistance to the Muslim attack on Roda village. When the defenders' ammunition finally gave out, the settlement was overrun by a mob which beheaded him. His severed head was trans-fixed to a spear and paraded as a war trophy from village to village. News of the violence in the Khushab tehsil, spread as far as Nairobi.*

Justice G.D. Khosla in his report entitled *Stern Reckoning*, Delhi, 1948 and written on the official request of the government of India has recorded many of the violent incidents in western Punjab

Let us now move to Rawalpindi district: *Bewal was a village of mixed population, the Sikhs numbering about four hundred. On the morning of March 10, some of the Sikh residents tried to travel to Gujar Khan but the Muslim lorry driver refused to carry them on the ground that the Sub-Inspector of Police had forbidden the issue of lorry tickets to Sikhs. The same afternoon a large crowd of Muslims shouting "Ya Ali, Ya Ali," to the beating of drums, was seen approaching. The non-Muslim villagers entrenched themselves in two improvised shelters. At 11 p.m. the raiders set fire to a number of non-Muslim houses on the outskirts of the village. The siege of the village continued throughout the night, and, on the morning of March 11, fresh gangs of raiders arrived. The assault on the non-Muslim sanctuaries was now opened. Houses around the Gurdwara, where many of the Sikh residents had taken shelter, were set on fire. The fire spread to the Gurdwara and those inside were almost all burnt alive. The house of a retired Extra Assistant Commissioner, in which the rest of the non-Muslims had collected, was also attacked in a similar manner. Very few of the four hundred Sikh residents escaped alive. Many women and girls saved their honour by self-immolation. They collected their beddings and cots in a heap and when the heap caught fire they jumped on to it, raising cries of Sat Sri Akal. The raiders behaved in a most cruel manner and subjected the few men whom they captured to torture. The eyes of Mukand*

Singh, one of the residents, were removed from their sockets and he was dragged by the legs till he died.

Doberan had a population of seventeen hundred of whom a very large majority were Sikhs. On the morning of March 10, swarms of armed raiders from the neighbouring villages began to collect in front of Doberan. The non-Muslim residents sought shelter in the local Gurdwara. The raiders began to loot the houses thus deserted and set fire to them. The Sikhs had a few firearms and fought the raiders from the Gurdwara. They, however, suffered heavily and soon ran out of ammunition. The raiders asked them to surrender their arms and promised not to molest them. About three hundred of them came out and they were placed in the house of one Barkat Singh. During the night the roof was ripped open, kerosene oil was poured in, and those inside were burnt alive. In the morning the doors of the Gurdwara were broken open. The remaining Sikhs dashed out sword in hand and died fighting the raiders. Very few escaped from this hideous massacre. The total loss of life in this village is estimated at 506.

In Qazian, a village five miles from Gujar Khan, the atmosphere on the morning of March 7 was tense. Qazi Ghulam Hussain, a retired Government official, assured the Sikh residents that there was no cause for alarm and that they were perfectly safe in his village. On the morning of March 9, a large crowd of Muslims began to assemble near the village abadi on the pretence of holding a kabaddi match. The Muslims advanced with the beat of drums and began setting fire to the Sikh houses and Gurdwara. Shots were fired at the raiders and they retreated. On the following morning they came back, reinforced, in larger numbers. Qazi Ghulam Hussain asked the Sikhs to come to his house for the night with their valuables. A number of Sikhs accepted this invitation and went there with their women and children. At 4 p. m. the raiders appeared in front of Qazi Ghulam Hussain's house and the Qazi then asked his guests to surrender their arms and leave his house. When the unarmed Sikhs emerged from the house they were set upon by the raiders and murdered. Three young girls were raped in public. Sant Singh, a Sikh resident, had on the previous day killed one of the Muslim raiders and had then hidden himself. He was sent for by Qazi Ghulam Hussain and, while he was talking to him, a rope was flung round his neck and he was dragged to a firewood stall where he and his son were hacked to bits and then burnt. The survivors were evacuated to Gujar Khan by military lorries on the night of the 11th.

Nara village is situated in a hilly tract. It had a majority of Sikhs but the neighbouring villagers were all predominantly Muslim. At about 4 p. m. on March 9,

Muslim mobs were seen approaching the village and, late at night, the village was attacked and the outlying houses were set on fire. One of the residents, Makhan Singh and his wife and daughter were burnt alive in their house. The looting and burning continued on the following day. Some of the raiders had firearms and they appeared to be ex-military men. On March 11 the number of raiders swelled to several thousands and the village was encircled. As the ring narrowed the Sikh residents offered stubborn resistance. The raiders seized a number of women and children and threw them into the blaze of a burning house. A few women committed suicide by jumping into a well. Over a hundred men were killed; about fifty were forcibly converted to Islam. The survivors were evacuated to Gujar Khan.

In Sialkot district: conversion to Islam was frequently offered as the price of safety, and if the victims exhibited any reluctance or religious scruples they were subjected to duress and torture. The hair of Sikhs was cut off, their beards were trimmed and beef was cooked and forced down their throats. Some of them were circumcised. Young women and girls were molested and carried away. Reason and decency were completely banished by fanatical zeal; and young innocent girls were raped in public. In one village the relations of a girl were made to stand around in a ring while she was raped by several men in succession. Moving to Sheikhpura, not far from the birthplace of Guru Nanak, is a heart rending eye witness account of the Civil Surgeon. Whosoever tried to run away fell a victim to the shots of the Baluchis and the policemen. Having thus cleared away all the living population, the looters began to ransack the houses under the very nose of the policemen. At about 10 o'clock, trench-mortar fire was heard in Guru Nanak Pura locality. In all we heard about ten mortar shots. Since the firing came nearer and nearer to the hospital and the people had been killed under our very noses, we hid ourselves in the dark room attached to the X-ray department of the hospital. It proved to be the safest place. While hiding there in the dark room we heard woeful cries of Hindu and Sikh children as they were done to death by the Muslim mob. The cry of one child was particularly heart-rending. At about 2 p.m. we heard the cry, "Do not cut my throat. Do not cut my throat. You have already killed my parents. Take me with you." He was killed in the hospital verandah about twenty paces from us.

These crimes must have overtaken the cruelty of even Changez Khan and Halaqu Khan, the heroes of Sir Feroze Khan Noon.

Justice G.D Khosla's report entitled *Stern Reckoning*, Delhi, 1948, ends by summing up: *that League ideology and the line of conduct pursued by it were mainly and directly responsible for the horrible drama, narrated in these pages, is clearly*

demonstrated by the inexorable logic of chronology. The speeches delivered at the Convention of the Muslim League legislators in April 1946, were an open incitement to violence. On July 29, the Direct Action resolution frankly abjured peaceful and constitutional methods and, on August 16, the campaign of violence was opened at Calcutta under the command and guidance of Mr. Suhrawardy. In October came the tragedy of Noakhali and Tippera. Almost immediately afterwards retaliation followed in Bihar. Then for some months there was a lull while a major operation in the North-west was being planned. With the riots of March 1947 began the genocide of the non-Muslims. These disturbances were confined to the Muslim majority areas only and the victims were almost invariably Hindus and Sikhs.

Recalling the direct action of 1946 is not to dig up history, but to remind the leaders of both India and Pakistan what its re-enactment could mean. The situation is threatening for the Muslim masses in India because Pakistan has already conducted its ethnic cleansing. Obviously, the overwhelming priority of the average Muslim would be the security and the safety of his family and relatives. Yet, he has no say in Indo-Pak affairs. Today, there is not a single leader who has a country-wide appeal. Even regional leaders are few and far between, except for the ecclesiastics or the *mullahs*.

Let this not be seen as merely raising fears. It was an apprehension shared by a number of eminent persons even in those years, of whom the most eminent was Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India who stayed on as the first Governor General after independence. To quote Sir Penderel Moon,⁹⁹ ICS: *At a conference on June 4th, 1947, Lord Mountbatten was specifically asked whether he foresaw any mass transfer of population as a result of Partition. His reply was tantamount to a negative. A measure of transfer would come about, he said, 'in a natural way, that is to say people would just cross the boundary or the Government may take steps to transfer population.'* Such minor marginal shifts near the boundary or planned transfer by government were very different from the uncontrollable mass migrations which were shortly destined to take place.

Although Dr B.R. Ambedkar¹⁰⁰ had expressed similar views five years earlier, quoting British opinion is far better from an objective point of view: nevertheless, the weight of Babasaheb's opinion is no less important. To quote: *Some scoff at the idea of the shifting and exchange of population. But those who scoff can hardly be aware of the complications which a minority problem gives rise to and the failures attendant upon almost all the efforts made to soothe their relations. The constitutions of the post-war states, as well as the older states in Europe which had a*

minority problem, proceeded on the assumption that constitutional safeguards for minorities should suffice for their protection and the constitutions of most of the new states with majorities and minorities were studded with long lists of fundamental rights and safeguards to see that they were not violated by the majorities. What was the experience? Experience showed that safeguards did not save the minorities. Even after safeguards the same old policy of exterminating the minorities continued to hold the field. But, at long last, when the States realized that even this ruthless war had failed to solve the problem of minorities they agreed that the best way to solve it was for each to exchange its alien minorities within its border for its own which was without its border with a view to bring about homogeneous States. This is what happened in Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. Those who scoff at the idea of transfer of population will do well to study the history of the minority problem, as it arose between Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. If they do, they will find that after trying all possible methods of solving the problem it was agreed between these countries that the only effective way of solving it was to exchange population. The task undertaken by the three countries was by no means a minor operation. It involved the transfer of some 20 million people from one habitat to another. But undaunted, the three shouldered the task and carried it to a successful end. That is because they felt that the considerations of communal peace must outweigh every other consideration.

Muslim opinion in India is the virtual monopoly of the *ulema*. Their priority appears to be the consolidation of pan-Islamism rather than the welfare of the Muslims in India. How many average Muslims living outside the valley have been anywhere near Kashmir? They have little interest in the controversy. From a practical point of view, they would prefer that Kashmiri Muslims remain compatriots. So that the Indian *ummah* does not shrink in numbers.

Non-Muslim political parties are unable to address the Muslim masses, either because they do not understand their psyche, or for fear of antagonising the *mullahs*. Even liberal modern Muslim politicians are unable to freely express themselves. If they do, their fear is that they would earn the antipathy of the high priests of their religion. It is very well to proclaim the validity of the two nation theory and keep trying to prove that the Muslims are a separate nation. But the ground reality is that the Muslim masses have to make the best of their stay in India, unless they are prepared to emigrate.

When partition took place, there was hope, especially harboured by the Muslim League, that the creation of Pakistan would satisfy most of the Muslim aspirations.

Instead, all it achieved was to perpetrate tyranny upon their Bengali compatriots which eventually lead them to secede in 1971. Now, there are secessionist movements in Sindh and Baluchistan. The Afghan frontier was a hotbed of Talibanism, again a threat to Pakistan becoming a modern state. But it is doubtful whether the *ulema* in the subcontinent would be interested in modernisation.

In 1946, the Muslim minority was a live question only in India. But today, after 55 years, there are several other countries that are undergoing experiences of adjustment. It is not entirely pleasant. Or else, why should the *Economist, London*, need to deal with the subject twice during one month in July 2001?

Several towns in the north of England had, what were described as, racial riots between the local youth and those of Pakistani origin. Oldham, Burnley and Bradford were three towns mentioned by the *Economist* of July 14. Violent incidents have taken place, many times over the years, especially since 1981. Patience is evidently running out. 'Or else why should a liberal journal like the *Economist* raise the issue of multi-culturalism which it calls a problematic creed. *Some degree of assimilatory mixing is necessary otherwise communities end up living not together but separately, divided rather than harmonious.*

The last paragraph of report expresses exasperation. *British policy makers have tended to think more about the rights of minorities, in relation to various wayward organs of the state, than about their responsibilities.* France suffers from greater tension on this account. 'Over the Bastille Day weekend, in the Paris region disaffected young people.... Many of them of Arab origin celebrated by setting fire to more than 130 cars. There are estimated to be about five million Muslims in France. A report to the prime minister noted last December, the *beurs* or French born children of immigrant parents, are increasingly turning to Islam, not as a matter of faith but as a symbol of identity.

42 Travancore, a Hindu Polity

Travancore now forms a large part of Kerala, but until 1947 it was a princely state owing paramount allegiance to the British crown. After the reorganisation of states in 1956, it merged with Cochin and Malabar to form Kerala. While it was ruled by a prince, it offered a Hindu contrast to an Islamic state.

In India, this is one outstanding example of a self proclaimed Hindu state and that too in recent times. A Japanese scholar Koji Kawashima,¹⁰¹ in his book *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, OUP, New Delhi, 1998, has researched and recorded the experience of Travancore between 1858 and 1936. The study was funded by two Japanese foundations named after Yoshida and Mortia and supervised by a British professor, David Arnold. Hence, it can be relied on as an impartial, objective work on an Indian state. The following paragraphs help to describe Travancore's state Hinduism as well as how the non-Hindu citizens were treated.

In India, the kingly duties have been called rajadharma, which can be defined as the obligation of the ruler to protect dharma, or to secure peace, prosperity, justice and order in the kingdom. Of these duties, the protection of the gods and their temples was perhaps the most important. As a servant of Sri Padmanabha, the Maharaja of Travancore observed a number of rituals, most of which were started by Martanda Varma in the mid-eighteenth century.

Travancore was a state which had a large number of non-Hindus, particularly Syrian Christians. In 1875, Christians formed about 20 percent of the total population, and Muslims six percent. These different religions have co-existed in Travancore state. One of the principal reasons for this co-existence was a semi-official state policy of religious tolerance.

Regarding this, Lieutenants Ward and Conner, who surveyed Travancore and Cochin from 1816 to 1820, stated, in the idiom of the time, that Christianity was

fully acknowledged by the authorities in those states, and whether from their justice or indifference did not appear to have been exposed to persecution. Dewan V.P. Madhava Rao stated at the first meeting of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly in 1904 that equality of treatment to all religions was one of the principal features of Travancore state. Missionaries more or less recognised this aspect.

J. Knowles, an LMS missionary, stated in 1898 that Travancore state has been conspicuous by its toleration of non-Hindu religions. In fact, Hindu kings gave the Syrians privileges and honours that distinguished them as a high caste. And Syrians themselves attempted to have the support of the king when there was a dispute over ecclesiastical power within their church. Also, as Leslie Brown has pointed out, Syrian Christians joined in many festivals, such as Onam and Vishu, engaged in temple celebrations and gave offerings to the temples along with Hindus.

Evidently, the Hindu state of Travancore did not discriminate against the followers of other faiths. The overriding evidence of religious tolerance is the present population profile of Kerala, a large part of which had belonged to Travancore. Incidentally, other major states of what is now called Kerala were Cochin and Malabar. Both were ruled by Hindu monarchs. In Cochin, he was called *maharaja* while in Malabar he was called *zamorin*. As far as religious tolerance was concerned, they were similar to Travancore. In fact, all the three were so tolerant that they freely allowed change of religion. Today, 20 per cent of Keralites are Christian and a similar percentage is Muslim. Therefore why is there a periodic outcry against a Hindu *rashtra*? Assuming it was true and successful, no one has any need to fear going by the prototype as represented by Travancore.

The implication is that the Hindu ethos has no tangible model of the state. Putting it another way, in Hindustan, state and religion are spontaneously separate. True, Sri Ram is looked upon as an ideal king. The *Mahabharat* epic discusses the three prime duties of a king, namely, protecting the borders of the state, ensuring justice, law and order for the people and selecting a competent successor to the throne.

Dhritrashtra instructed Yudhishtir about the ideal judicial and legal set up for the kingdom. He also spoke of a strict penal system and insisted on the right kind of punishment for crimes. Bhishma also addressing Yudhishtir, explained the duties of a king especially in the context of the economy as well as defence. Vidur also showed considerable interest in statecraft. He described the virtues and the vices of a king, the duties of a kingdom etc.

Sri Krishna's wisdom is wide ranging as well as fascinating. The *Bhagwad Gita* is a theory of life and is valid eternally. His guidance right through the *Mahabharat* epic has a great deal to teach about the strategy and practice of life, as well as on the battlefield. Evidently, even in those ancient times, worship was kept far away from the conduct of state.

Kautilya's *Arthshastra* is far more comprehensive and goes into great detail about how a kingdom should be run. Nevertheless, even if one were to build the model of a state on the basis of these details, there would be nothing Hindu about a Kautilyan polity, since there is no mention of either worship or religion in the entire *Arthshastra*. The model would be strictly secular in the original European sense of the state being separate from the church. Incidentally, even in other literature, nothing remotely describing a Buddhist or a Jain state is available. This is despite the fact that there were centuries in the course of which some tension existed between those favouring Buddhism, as distinct from the *sanatan dharma*. Which means that even when there was a tussle between two social philosophies, neither resorted to using state machinery for its own survival or success.

In recent times, Mahatma Gandhi did talk about *ramrajya*, whose model he *did not construct* on paper. Nevertheless, it was his idea of an ideal state; many a Hindu shares his view. One essential sentence from Gandhi needs to be quoted here: *By Ram Raj, I do not mean Hindu Raj, I mean Ram Raj Divine Raj, the kingdom of God. For me, Ram and Rahim are the same deity.* Even then, when a non-Hindu hears the word Ram, he takes it for granted that the concept is that for a Hindu state.

In sharp contrast to the Islamic Taliban, Travancore illustrates the Hindu attitude to statecraft. Although it was a self declared Hindu state, yet its concern was not to retain or recruit more people for Hindu society. Rather, the rulers were careful about the liberty of everyone to be able to follow his or her own faith, which explains why there was no resistance by the state to religious conversions.

43 A Hindu State at Work

Nepal is a self declared Hindu kingdom. In fact, it is known as the world's *only* Hindu state. Travancore was also a Hindu state at work. As a follow through of independence in 1947, it was amalgamated into the federal state of Kerala. In pre-independence days, it was a princely state with the British crown as the paramount power.

Today therefore, if one wants to get a glimpse of a living Hindu state, one must look at Nepal. Part I of its Constitution adopted in 1990, describes the kingdom as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, democratic, independent, indivisible, sovereign Hindu and constitutional monarchical kingdom. Part V states that the king must be a descendant of the great king Prithvi Narayan Shah and an adherent of Aryan culture and Hindu religion. From time immemorial, the monarch has been a Hindu.

Legends take the country, or rather kingdom, back into the mists of pre-history. There is a well known column with an inscription of emperor Ashoka who ruled in the 3rd century BC. However, the recorded history of Nepal begins with chronicles which mention the rise of the Licchavi dynasty in the 4th century AD. Before that, the rulers were people who belonged to the Kirat dynasty. From the 10th to the 18th century, Nepal has been ruled by the Mallas.

As the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* records, the Licchavi as well as subsequent rulers, although devout Hindus, did not impose *brahmanical laws* on their non-Hindu subjects who, in those centuries, were Buddhists. King Jaisthiti Malla, who reigned from 1382–95, introduced the first legal and social code which was influenced by Hindu principles. By 1769, a distinguished Gorkha conquered the valley and established the capital at Kathmandu. His name was Prithvi Narayan Shah whose progeny were the subsequent rulers of the country. Thus were the laid the foundations of the modern state of Nepal.

Although a democratic country, Nepal did not have a constitution until 1959. The original constitution however, was replaced by another one in 1962. The constitution in force today is the one promulgated by King Birendra in 1990. Before 1959 and since, whether as a monarchical democracy or as a popular democracy, Nepal has adhered to the liberal traditions of Hinduism. Many of these have been enshrined in the present constitution. For example, Part I says that the Nepalese people irrespective of religion, race, caste or tribe, collectively constitute the nation.

Detailing the rules of citizenship, Part II clearly lays out the rules as to how a foreigner can become a Nepalese national. There is provision for honorary citizenship which may be granted to an internationally renowned person. Part III makes the right of equality for all its citizens as a fundamental right. The right in its various aspects is as follows:

1. All citizens shall be equal before the law. No person shall be denied equal protection of the laws.
2. No discrimination shall be made against any citizen in the application of general laws on grounds of religion (dharma), race (varna), sex (linga), caste (jati), tribe(jati) or ideological conviction (vaicharik) or any of these.
3. The state shall not discriminate among citizens on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, tribe, or ideological conviction or any of these:

Provided that special provisions may be made by law for the protection and advancement of the interests of women, children, the aged or those who are physically or mentally incapacitated or those belonging to a class which is economically, socially or educationally backward.

4. No person shall, on the basis of caste, be discriminated against as untouchable, be denied access to any public place, or be deprived of the use of public utilities. Any contravention of this provision shall be punishable by law.
5. No discrimination in regard to remuneration shall be made between men and women for the same work.

The right to religion is also fundamental:

1. Every person shall have the freedom to profess and practise his own religion as handed down to him from ancient times having due regard to traditional practices.

Provided that no person shall be entitled to convert another person from one religion to another.

2. Every religious denomination shall have the right to maintain its independent existence and for this purpose to manage and protect its religious places and trusts.

To confirm that in practice also there is no discrimination between one religion and another, it is useful to quote from an article by Dr. M. Mohsin,¹⁰² a Muslim professor:

Religion has never been a barrier of effective communication between different ethnic groups in Nepal. All through her long history Nepalese society has displayed a remarkably high degree of religious harmony. She has never been forced to coexist with alien cultures or creeds against her will. Religious groups either Hindu, Buddhist, or even Muslim never developed a militant or aggressive complex. The Nepalese Crown maintaining the highest tradition of Hindu secularism extended its royal patronage to all sects and creeds in its domain. As has been pointed out, "the Nepali readily believes in all Gods and fought Islam only because the invaders were iconoclasts and broke the Nepalese idols. Nevertheless, two hundred thousand Muslims form part of the kingdom of Nepal and their rights, privileges and freedom of worship are as jealously guarded as those of their Hindu, Buddhist and, Bonpo brethren."

Despite being a Hindu state, the government has been liberal. Radio and television celebrate Muslim and Christian festivals as well as Hindu occasions. Muslims only had nominal presence in Kathmandu valley until the early sixties, although in the Terai belt bordering India there were many Muslims. A Muslim candidate of the Nepali Congress won an election to the *Pratinidhi Sabha* or the lower house of parliament way back in 1959. He was Sheikh Idris. The first Islamic inroad into the Kathmandu valley had taken place in 1346 when Sultan Shamsuddin of Bengal had attacked the valley, damaged the Pashupatinath temple and desecrated the idol. He, however, did not colonise the valley.

Till the early sixties of the 20th century, only some six or seven Kashmiri Muslim families were living in Kathmandu to trade in carpets and later their number increased manifold. A Muslim fugitive from India not only got Nepali citizenship but also joined politics and got elected to the *Rashtriya Panchayat*. He also became a minister.

Muslims now constitute a sizeable section of Kathmandu's population and thousands are seen at Friday prayers in the two main mosques of the city. However, there has been no communal tension in Kathmandu between the Hindus and Muslims.

Christians made an early entry after Nepal opened its doors to foreigners. After 1950, missionary activity increased with the setting up of a hospital and public school. There is a constitutional ban on conversions, nevertheless, the number of Christians has increased.

In 1961, the Muslim population of the country was estimated to be 200,000 and therefore less than two percent. Immigration of Muslims got encouragement after the state visit of President Ayub Khan of Pakistan in 1964. He was given a special welcome by King Mahendra who was anxious to make new friends over and above the traditional neighbours, namely, India and China. Contrary to the sentiments of many a Hindu citizen, President Ayub Khan was made to stay at the Narayanhiti palace instead of the normal practice of putting up senior state guests in the state house, Sheetal Niwas.

In 1971, there was civil war in Pakistan, as a result of which the country's eastern wing seceded to become Bangladesh. Many an Urdu speaking resident of the eastern wing migrated to Nepal. In Bangladesh, he was called a Bihari. In its liberal attitude towards other religions, the government of Nepal did nothing to discourage this inflow of Muslims. They, as a proportion of the total population are now estimated to constitute some five per cent. This merely underlines the liberality of the Hindu kingdom of Nepal.

44 Islam at Cross Roads

Has Black Tuesday, 11th September 2001 begun a new chain of crusades?

Will the course of history change as a result of Black Tuesday, 11th September, 2001, or will it remain more or less the same? Should the surprise destruction of the World Trade Center as well as the attack on the Pentagon in Washington DC make a permanent difference to the outlook of America and the West?

In the 1400 years since this religion came into existence there has been no canonical division or theological split since the Shias went their separate way, after the battle of Karballa. The Sunni Shia difference began over who should be the *khalifa* or the representative of Prophet Muhammad. Should he necessarily be someone from the blood or family line of the Prophet? Or could he be any member of the Quraish tribe to which Muhammad Saheb belonged?

Those who insisted on the former preference were called Shias. The rest are known as Sunnis. True, Ahmadiyas had a more fundamental difference. In 1889, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, a town in East Punjab, claimed to be the *mehdi* or the expected messiah. He also claimed to have seen a vision rather like the Prophet. This was unacceptable to the *ulema* as Muhammad was the last prophet who had delivered the final message. There could be no further message. Little wonder that eventually the Ahmadiyas were condemned as un-Islamic and therefore declared non-Muslim.

Be that as it may, the Hindu Muslim equation is the single most important issue before our country. Until and unless we resolve this question, it will be difficult to achieve national integrity and make rapid progress. This explains the special inter-

est in the future of Islam. A great deal would depend on how the equation between the two communities might now shape up.

Terrorist strikes in New York and Washington would have resulted in a split in the opinion of Muslims all over the world. It is quite possible that a majority would, in their heart or hearts, feel that the Almighty has punished the Americans for their own acts of omission and commission. On the other hand, there must be many co-religionists who would feel that what happened was wrong. Some of them would question the ethics of killing innocent people. Others would have their own problems of survival like those Muslims who live in Europe and America. Yet others would recoil out of fear, of having angered the world's most powerful country.

Specifically, the conflict seems to be coming to the surface in Pakistan. Was there any alternative for its government but to cooperate with the USA? On the other hand, there was a dread of the Taliban retaliating as well as a fear of refugees flooding the country from Afghanistan. Also, the sentiments of the *ulema* and masses of fellow Muslims. Above all, there was a question as to whether Pakistani soldiers would obey their generals in a war against the Taliban. Islam has not had to deal with such contradictions earlier on a world scale. Being a religion of the Book, the problems of conflict were inevitable. But the best way to explain this point is to take the experiences of other religions, or faiths, of the Judiac series, namely histories of Judiasm, Christianity and Marxism. What has happened to them would throw interesting light on what could possibly happen to Islam.

As we all know, Judaism has remained strict and pristine. Jews who differed from their orthodoxy wandered away from the fold. As a result, the faith today does not have more than ten million adherents. In other words, Judaism has paid the price by shrinking for the sake of remaining pure and undivided. On the other hand, the Christian church allowed itself to be divided many times into various denominations. The first split came as long ago as the 4th century AD when the Roman empire divided into two; one remaining headquartered in Rome and the other shifting to Constantinople.

The canonical difference between the two churches did not emerge until the 9th century. The Roman or the Western Church believed that the Holy Spirit in the Christian trinity along with father or God and son or Jesus Christ emerges from both these. The Eastern prelates felt that the Holy spirit proceeded only from the father. The real subdivision of Christianity however had to wait until the 16th cen-

ture reformation, when the word protestant began to be used, as opposed to catholic. Since then, any number of protestant denominations have emerged.

Therefore, Judaism shrank, whereas Christianity divided into many sects; the number of Christians also increased manifold. Marxism also offers an example of which way a religion of the Book can go. For those who may have reservations about calling Marxism a faith, let us clarify. It asserts that there is no God and that religion is the opium of the masses. To say that there *is* God is a matter of faith. It is equally a matter of faith to *deny* the existence of God. There can be no absolute proof either of the presence or the absence of God. Therefore, Marxism is also a religion. As is well known, for all practical purposes, Marxism met its death in 1991. True, many leftists insist that Marxism as a school of thought is very much alive. Only most of the communist states have ceased to exist.

If one wants to argue, one can claim that there is North Korea and also Cuba. The ruling group in China even now calls itself the Communist Party. But we know for a fact that Marxism, or the spring of communism, has lost most of its followers. To that extent, the faith has, more or less expired. Its demise took place because communism failed to deliver the goods in fast moving and rapidly changing times. The ideology was neither flexible nor dynamic. The question is whether Islam is flexible, dynamic and able to deliver the goods for the Muslim youth, whose expectations are also rising, similar to those of all other youth. They want to educate themselves, express themselves and fulfil ambitions like members of any other community.

For the believer, Islam is the final message delivered by the last Prophet some 1,400 years ago in Arabia. It is to the credit of Muslims, that they have been blindly faithful to the message of Allah. The obverse of this faith is, that it has not kept pace with the times and therefore might not satisfy all the youth, male as well as female, of today. In other words, it might not be able to deliver the goods. Reformation *a la* the Christian church of the 16th century has not taken place at all in Islam. We have seen earlier why the Ahmadiyahs were expelled and condemned as non-Muslims. Like Judaism, is it probable that the *ulema* would prefer shrinkage of their religion rather than compromising its purity?

Pristine Islam insists that the non-believer is a *kafir*. The believer is called a *momin* whose duty it is to try and convert every *kafir* to his faith through persuasion, and, if necessary, through threat. Collectively, Dar-ul Islam is a state in which the tenets of Islam are fully observed. In contrast, Dar-ul Harb is a territory which

belongs to infidels and therefore is a target for warfare. This inevitably calls for *jihad* or a holy war. One who kills a *kafir* is called a *ghazi*. incidentally, a *kafir* who agrees to pay the poll tax called *jizyah* obtains protection and thus becomes a *zimmi*.

A Muslim is uncomfortable so long as Sharia is not put into practice. He turns a separatist, unless he, or another Muslim is the ruler. Another aspect that is important is the brotherhood of Islam, whereby a Muslim anywhere in the world is more right than a *kafir* or an infidel. This explains why a Palestinian is more right than an American. Which, in turn, explains the attacks on New York and Washington on Black Tuesday. The consequence is the fear of retaliation by the USA. The effects of that pressure are already being seen in Pakistan.

On the other hand, all devout Muslims led by the *ulema* disapprove of doing anything whereby they are involved in apprehending or handing over brother Muslims to infidel westerners. Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1991. Saudi Arabia, the Emirates and other sheikhdoms helped finance the USA to defeat Saddam Hussain. That was a fight for survival amongst some Muslim states and not an Islamic conflict. The unity of the *ummah* was not at stake, The conflict resulting from Black Tuesday however is an unprecedented one that Islam faces. Therefore it assumes that the course of the religion will inevitably change.

VI Missing Link

This book has striven to find a way of resolving the Hindu Muslim conflict which has evaded a solution for centuries from Emperor Akbar to Mahtama Gandhi. Its mission would be fulfilled only if it helps Indians to develop collective pride.

45 *Collective Honour*

India lost the cricket test series against Sri Lanka during August 2001 when the author happened to meet a visitor from Sydney. After we became well acquainted, he asked as to why we kept losing in not only cricket, but even in other games like hockey and football? In his opinion, India had the best batting side in the world led by Sachin Tendulkar, who was beginning to be recognised as the best batsman ever after Don Bradman. It was not as if we lacked skills at other games either. We have produced champions at billiards, badminton, chess and also to an extent, in tennis. Team games were a disaster for Indians. There was similar conclusion by the few persons present, when we talked about this subject.

Over the years, even in business and industry, we seldom function well as teams led by a captain or a chief executive. Somehow, we perform much better if the same managers are able to look upon someone in the company as a *karta* or a father figure. He may or may not be the owner, or an extraordinary executive but he has to be perceived as a big enough person who needs to be implicitly obeyed. In other words, we Indians obey much more sincerely than we cooperate spontaneously. From sport to business, to the country as a whole, the syndrome seems to be familiar.

Although China is known to have made a great deal of progress over the last ten or twelve years, yet until 1979, India on balance, was economically more successful. Even when Peking (now Beijing) humiliated us in 1962, economically the yellow country was in trouble. Only the previous year, 30 million people had starved to death in the western provinces of China. Today of course, the country is looked upon with awe as the world's second strongest power.

An American scholar on military strategy, Prof. Edward Lutwak would call China an outstanding example of his theory of armed suasion, whereby the country

appears much bigger than the sum of its many parts. That the alchemy is superior to the total of the metals that go to make it. Max Webber, the German social scientist, might have called China a case of charisma, not in the sense of mass appeal as the world understands it, but the whole appearing much bigger than the sum of its parts.

It is not suggested that this is an accurate diagnosis of the Indian syndrome. It is disappointing that the country is not getting the recognition for its achievements and its many contributions to civilisation. There is no doubt that there is a missing link in our ethos. Only if we are able to locate it and solder it, would Indians feel prouder, more self-confident and successful.

Another way to put it is that our national fabric needs more of a binding factor than our leaders have so far provided . Since we have talked about China, it would bear repeating that over 91 percent of its population belongs to the Han race and almost everyone speaks the same language, albeit in differing idioms. The country has continually been a single bureaucratic state for 2,200 years since the advent of the Han dynasty in 206BC. There were ups and downs in the power of the Chinese state, but at all times during the 22 centuries, the country was a single polity under an emperor until 1911, after which China became a republic.

Uncannily, God or faith in Him has never been a Han preoccupation. True, Laotse and Confucius set the social conduct and behavioural norms for the people, but if there is any belief of wide ranging acceptance, it is Buddhism. There are Muslims in western China specially in the province of Xinjiang Uygur as well as a scattering of Christians, especially on the eastern seaboard. After the demise of communism, if there be any belief among the teeming millions, it is again the lure of Buddha.

In sharp contrast, the ethos of Hindustan has been dominated by blind faith in the omnipresence of *paramatma*. Unlike Judaic religions, there was no distinction between Jews and gentiles, Christians and heathens or momins and *kafirs*. All living beings are a part of the Hindu universe and every little piece of land, pond of water, the smallest hillock or the shallowest valley was steeped in the faith.

It was an *avataar* of Vishnu who first conceived of a pan India, or a single Hindustan as long ago as 3,400 years. Any wonder that Sri Krishna has devout followers across the land from the eastern most state of Manipur to the western most Saurashtra, from northern Kashmir to southern Kanyakumari. How he sent emis-

saries to various nooks and corners of the subcontinent on the morrow of the Mahabharat war has been documented by Ms Shobha Mukherji in her book¹⁰³ *The Republican Trends in Ancient India* published by Munshiram Manoharlal, 1969. Unfortunately, this spiritual bond of Hindustan was shaken and in due course mutilated with the advent of Islamic invasion.

Even though the Hindu faith remained unshaken, its influence as a bond between the people and a cement among the masses, across the land, dwindled. Thus was damaged the greatest integrating element of Hindustan. The very basis of Indian nationalism was eroded. Centuries of foreign rule was bad enough. What was worse was that some of our own leaders in the 20th century went out of their way to eradicate it. An outstanding example was how Mahatma Gandhi took it upon himself to lead the *khilafat* movement. This agitation was nothing but an attempt to save the *khalifa* on the throne of Turkey, so that the spiritual cum temporal head of all the world's Sunnis was preserved in place. The *khalifa* was the representative of Prophet Muhammad, or the personification of pan Islamism or of supranationalism. Which, in turn, is an obvious adversary of nationalism. The *khilafat* movement was anti-national.

Communism has been yet another curse for this country, although its ideology was not able to penetrate the masses. In fact, communist parties never showed any boldness in preaching their anti-God message. But where communism hurts the integrity of India, was its influence on the intelligentsia. Being firm believers in the potential unity of the world's workers, their ideology came through as essentially anti-nation. True, Leon Trotsky, the right hand man of Lenin, and his thinking did not reach India in any significant way. Nevertheless, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), which is faithful to Trotsky's thinking, is still a partner in the left front government in West Bengal. Trotsky called his mission the permanent revolution. The nation state, in his view, was an instrument of exploitation of the poor, in the hands of the rich.

The other factions of the communist movement were of slightly differing shades of red. The Communist Party of India was the agent of Moscow whereas those who felt that Maoist China was more correct than Khrushchev's Soviet Union, broke away in 1964 and formed the CPI (Marxist). And so no. But none of the factions stood for nationalism. Their anthem was the *Internationale*. They were internationalists and to that extent, adversaries of nationalism. The appeal of communism to many a decent person was in its apparent care and compassion for the poor vis-a-

vis the rich. Many people overlooked the fact that Marxism was essentially anti-nation.

True, Marx was a lucid thinker, a versatile analyst and an innovative historian. His materialistic interpretation of history, or its offshoot dialectical materialism, appeared so rational, at first impression, that many a youth was enamoured by it. The University of Cambridge, England, in the 1930s had a large number of his followers, some of whom came back to India to join the communist movement. The sum effect of these factors was that for many educated Indians, regardless of ideological predilections, the tools of analysis were influenced by Marx. All this made large sections of the intelligentsia, readers as well as writers, non-nationalists in their thinking. Nationalism began to be equated, at least in the minds of some, with fascism; without, incidentally, bothering to find out what fascism really meant. Probably nothing today saps the strength of India's integrity more than this red poison.

As Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, while addressing students at Aligarh Muslim University in January 1948, said: *you are Muslims and I am a Hindu. We may adhere to different religious faiths or even to none; but that does not take away from that cultural inheritance that is yours as well as mine. The past holds us together, why should the present or the future divide us in spirit?*

The Constitution of India came into force on 26th January, 1950. Thereafter the country prepared for the general election of 1952. Electoral considerations began to submerge national interests. Led by Nehru, the Congress began to construct its vote bank to ensure victory at the hustings. The credit for reservation of seats for the *adivasis* and the *harijans*, now called *dalits*, was claimed by the Congress. Muslims, who were shaken by the trauma of partition, were given shelter, since many Muslim Leaguers, who stayed on in India were welcomed into the party fold. Christians also formed a significant minority and felt assured in the hands of Nehru, whom many described as the first English Prime Minister of India. Along with some other sections of the people, the coalition of castes and communities assured the Congress of approximately 40 percent electoral support.

Right through his years as prime minister, Nehru remained loyal to this vote bank. As Muslim confidence revived, they realised their electoral strength and at least their leaders managed to get more than their pound of flesh from the Congress. This has often been described as minority appeasement, a phenomenon which has survived, if not also increased, in Indian politics. Any number of specific examples

can be quoted. One was the proudly claimed Congress victory in the state elections of 1981 in Gujarat, due to the party adopting the *KHAM* theory. This acronym represented the coalition of Kshatriyas, Harijans, Adivasis, and Muslims. It seems that the then biggest party of India divided the electorate in order to retain power, rather than unite the country to make it stronger.

Any number of reasons can be presented to show as to why Hindustan has not been enabled to be woven into an integrated whole. Many people keep talking about pluralism, diversity, a multicultural society and so on, without also remembering the importance of national unity. The adage that unity is strength is as old as civilisation itself, but one cannot expect unity to be forgotten in normal times. Except in times of war, the polity remains obsessed with demands of its sectoral supporters. Without national unity, how are progress and prosperity possible? And this is certainly not the canvas on which can be painted the proud standard of collective honour. If China is ahead of India, national unity and collective pride is one big explanation.

Bertrand Russell wrote a whole book to prove *that the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is a fundamental concept in physics*. He summed up one of his important chapters with the words: *a creed or sentiment of some kind is essential to social cohesion, but if it is to be a source of strength it must be genuinely and deeply felt by the great majority of those upon whom technical efficiency depends*.

In the case of Hindustan, that sentiment would evidently be nationalism which, in its simplest term would mean a macro family, where all people *feel* for the country as they would for their joint family. The other two factors enumerated by Russell for achieving collective honour, or power, are either religion or a great leader. Religion should be discounted because that may frighten the minorities. All one would expect of them is to reserve their complete loyalty for the sake of the country, while living and worshipping as they prefer. A prominent leader, like the German Fuehrer Hitler would not only be fraught with risk, but also be a passing phenomenon. Without a sense of collective honour, India will not win consistently. Its managers, entrepreneurs, as well as its writers, its batsmen will score centuries, but the future of the team will remain problematic.

VII Myth of Modern History

That the British divided India in order to rule is a widely held belief of Indians

The truth is quite the opposite. Strategically, the rulers had to unite the colony in order to govern it and exploit it economically. At the tactical level, there is no doubt that they took advantage of the Hindu Muslim gulf.

The Rebellion of 1857 proved to be a deadly blow to princely power which was largely in the hands of Muslims; they were bitterly upset with the British. The Hindus were also upset, but not bitter, and took to education in English as well as employment under the colonial government. Viceroy Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 antagonised the Hindus without sufficiently pleasing the Muslims.

The awakening misled Mahatma Gandhi into believing that Indian future and freedom lay in achieving Hindu Muslim unity, even on Muslim terms. The freedom struggle led by him, strengthened the myth of divide and rule. That it was a myth, was borne out by the partition of the country, as demanded by the Muslim League. The continuation of Hindu Muslim tensions even after 1947 proves this contention.

46 *British Imperialism Compared*

Dutch, French and Portuguese were worse

The author when he started working in 1957, had a colleague called Jonathan Kimberley. On the mail he received, his name was often preceded by words 'The Honourable'. On enquiry, the author discovered that he was the son of a Viscount, a little higher than a Lord or even an Earl. Kimberley dressed well, had classy expensive clothes especially for the winter, and several pairs of elegant shoes. He behaved modestly but his demeanour was aristocratic and certainly very different from the rest of the British friends, called expatriate colleagues. The author wondered as to why a son of such a well placed father should come out to work on a modest salary?

When Kimberley was asked, his answer was simple. He had to make a living and build a career. He had passed his 'O' level at school which was comparable to our class X. And he had no right to a share in his father's landed property. For, he was the third son. Only the eldest was the heir to the entire estate. The younger sons had no right to inheritance by the rule of primogeniture. A rule believed to be considered as one of the secrets of British empire building. Primogeniture prevented fragmentation of land holdings, considered debilitating for agriculture. Moreover, it compelled younger sons to go out into the world to seek a living, instead of leading idle lives with the help of income from inherited property. This was perhaps more true in the period preceding the industrial revolution, when there may not have been expanding opportunities for jobs for all the young men coming on the employment market. Hence the availability of manpower ready to go overseas to build careers. This was perhaps as great a perquisite of the empire, as the transfer of surpluses from the Indian economy as initially highlighted by Dadabhoy Nauroji before the advent of the 20th century. There were many other advantages to possessing the empire especially India, which was often described as the jewel in the

British crown. The power, prestige and patronage of owning one fourth of the world was no small matter in itself.

Not for a moment should one believe that the greatest empire in history was created without the use of real polity which included the practice of divide and rule. Here is an example quoted by Sardar K.M. Panikkar:¹⁰⁴ *The institution of separate electorates for the Muslims was the first expression of the pernicious two-nation theory, which ultimately resulted in the foundation of Pakistan. Published documents fully establish the fact that this was created by deliberate policy as an effective method to keep the Hindus and Muslims apart. Lady Minto, the wife of the Viceroy who was responsible for this piece of political Machiavellianism, noted with glee that her husband had by this act ensured for a long time the authority of the British in India. The system of separate electorates was a simple device. It provided that Muslims should be represented only by Muslims, elected only by Muslim voters and, further, that no Muslim could represent a Hindu constituency or vice versa. By this expedient the Muslims in India from Cape Comorin to Kashmir became a separate political entity.*

Then there was Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 which brought to the surface a great deal of Hindu Muslim antagonism. Many consider it to be the precursor of the second partition of 1947. Although as the British saw it, they were dividing the Bengalis who, in their view, were creating too much trouble for the imperial power. Nevertheless, all these divisive measures pale into comparative insignificance when one recalls unifying policies like the introduction of English as the medium of education, and bringing together of the three separate Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras under a single Governor General in 1773 and so on.

Apart from English language, exposure to western education was also invaluable. In the words of Panikkar: *the genuine results of English education in India, the reaction of the Indian mind to the vital movements of European culture introduced to them through English are to be seen in the work of Tagore, Iqbal, Buddha Deva Bose, Sarat Chandra Chatterji, Prem Chand, KM. Munshi, Vallathol, Sankara Kurup and a host of other great writers who have enriched the literatures of modern Indian languages.* The language enabled Indians to directly imbibe the results of the great movement of enlightenment in Europe.

On the whole, British rule was basically constructive as well as considerate, which does not mean that they were charitable or even altruistic. Their self was

their priority but once that was secured, Indian interests were not ignored. For example, the British would not give up their hundred rupees for anyone's hundred rupees. But they would certainly give up their one rupee, if as a result, someone else gained fifty. The approach generally was enlightened by any standards of imperialism, which in the nature of things is exploitative. The textile mills of Manchester may not have flourished, but for the thumbs of Bengal weavers being broken so that they could not produce fine muslin. Yet in the words of Sardar Panikkar, *but when all this and more has been said and the truth of the criticism accepted, the credit balance of this unique experiment (British rule in India) still remains substantial and impressive.*

Another way of checking how far this was true would be to compare the British with other European imperialists and what they all left behind. The *Dutch*, according to Panikkar, *took no interest in the education of the Indonesians. This afforded an opportunity for Islam to consolidate its position. Education became the effective monopoly of the Muslim priesthood, and mosques were the natural centres from which Islamic learning influenced the masses. The Dutch, he continued, alone of the European nations in the East carried out a policy which systematically reduced a whole population to the status of plantation labour, without recognising any moral or legal obligation to them.*

The Portuguese were neither creative nor considerate but, unlike the mercenary approach of the Dutch, had a religious or a proselytising mission. They did what they could to convert their subjects to Roman Catholicism. To that extent, the Portuguese had a mission beyond mere economic exploitation of their colonies. Brazil is their ongoing contribution to civilisation. In Angola and Mozambique, their record was not a progressive one. Indonesia, at independence, was a poor testimonial of Dutch colonial rule.

The French had a broader outlook; they considered their colonies as parts of metropolitan France. Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia were their north African colonies, as were the many French speaking countries of west Africa. The spread of culture was their mission beyond economic exploitation. Unfortunately, neither Vietnam nor Algeria were given up gracefully.

In sharp contrast, the British record in the aftermath of World War II was one of goodwill and graceful withdrawal from its colonies. Remember Canada and the United States of America were also once British colonies. As were Australia and New Zealand and for all of them Britain could claim some credit. Which means that

fundamentally the British had a constructive, if not also a creative interest in the growth of civilisation. Their approach was essentially positive, whereas divide and rule smacks of negativism.

47 British Contribution

It is not often in upper middle class society that one feels threatened of being beaten up. Yet surprisingly, that is what nearly happened at a small gathering in Kolkata during February 2001. Since the author knew quite a few of the gentlemen present who although well to do themselves, had communist sympathies. Many of them in their day had studied at British universities but were anti-British. Without giving deliberate thought, the author had implicitly presumed that this was not an unnatural sentiment of subjects towards their imperialist masters.

Since the time of Dadabhai Nauroji, it was known as to how much produce the British had taken away from our economy. They had managed to buy raw materials cheap and sell manufactured goods expensive. The Marxists are more familiar with economics than the average layman. Hence, perhaps, they are more anti-British. Nevertheless, at some stage during the evening, the author happened to say that the British did more for Indian unity than we realised. Two or three persons objected but there was no uproar until it was added that they did not divide and rule as a matter of ongoing strategy.

The reaction in the room was almost explosive. Social etiquette was given a go by. The host made efforts to bring about peace in one corner of the room. A few more guests joined the conversation as they appeared interested in hearing an unconventional point of view. English language was mentioned, as was the building of the railways and, above all, bringing together the separate Presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras together by the Regulating Act of 1773 when Warren Hastings became Governor General.

Even after the British crown assumed direct rule in 1858, no attempt was made to redivide the country. Uncannily, the Viceroy for the princely states and the Governor General for British India were combined in the same person. Since these were

facts, the adversaries could not dispute them. But they quoted communal riots, partition of Bengal and eventually the partition of India as clear examples of the British policy of divide and rule. When this contention was refuted the gathering listened patiently until one of the more inebriated persons leapt up and asked as to how then was it proposed to justify India's secular society?

Shall we debate the proposition of *divide et impera* the Latin prototype of divide and rule. Assuming that the British had adopted the policy of divide, would they have taken the structural measures that they did early in their rule over India? For example, the three Presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras had been established independently of one another. Yet, they were brought under one umbrella by the Regulating Act of 1773, whereafter Warren Hastings was promoted from Governor of Bengal to Governor General of India. Decades later, the Agra Presidency was formed, also to be answerable to the Governor General and not directly to the Board of Directors of the East India Company in London.

If the policy was to divide, why was Macaulay supported in his zeal for introducing English as the medium of instruction? This reform contributed more to bringing Indians together than any other. Without the English language how could a Bengali converse freely with a Gujarati? There was no *rashtra bhasha* or national language then. And without education in English, would our leaders across the sub-continent have imbibed from the west the spirit of liberty and the concept of nationalism. For purposes of administration, a few Indian officials could have been especially trained in English. For the rest, education would have continued in the so called vernacular languages.

It may be argued that the Directors of East India Company knew how to manage a business, but not how to govern an empire. Hence they combined the presidencies under the Governor General and introduced English as the medium of instruction. On the British crown assuming the administration of India in 1858, many changes were made, but none in the direction of abolishing English, or making the presidencies more autonomous. Instead, the office of Viceroy for the princely states and of the Governor General for British India were combined in the same person.

It can also be argued that the British began their rule in the 18th century without any intention to divide India, and it was only after some experience, developed second thoughts. If that were so, they would have introduced structural changes in the early decades of the 20th century. For example, they could have done to other provinces what they did with Burma, now Myanmar, which was separated from the rest

of India in 1937. There was no protest or even a murmur at this change. Sind was taken away from the Bombay presidency and constituted as a separate province. Bihar and Orissa were similarly excluded from the Bengal presidency and made into separate provinces. Again without a murmur or protest.

The British could have taken steps, with the full support of the *rajahs* and the *nawabs*, to try to ensure that British India did not get easily integrated with the rest of the country. Instead, the Independence of India Act 1947, passed by Parliament in London, provided that every princely state would either join the Indian Union or the dominion of Pakistan. None of this smacks of a policy of divide and rule.

On the contrary, it would be useful to recount what Indian scholars and national leaders had to say about British performance. Let us begin with Sir Jadunath Sarkar, one of the most distinguished Indian historians of his time. *The modernization of India is the work of the English, and it has affected the entire Indian continent. In many respects the English have continued, but in a more thorough fashion and over a much wider area of India, the work begun by the Mughal Empire. In some other directions they have introduced new forces which were unknown in the Mughal age. The English influence on Indian life and thought, which is still very far from its completion, is comparable only to the ancient Aryan stimulus, in its intensity and its all pervasive character.*

The first gift of the English to India is universal peace or freedom from foreign invasion and internal disorder. How valuable peace is for national growth can be best understood by contrast if we study the history of western India before 1817 or of the Punjab in the eighteenth century. The English have admitted us to the entire outside world, not only in Asia, but in all other continents as well, and they have admitted the rest of the world to us, in a degree not dreamt of under Muslim rule.

The greatest gift of the English, after universal peace and the modernization of society, and indeed the direct result of these two forces, is the Renaissance which marked our nineteenth century. Modern India owes everything to it. The Renaissance was at first an intellectual awakening and influenced our literature, education, thought, and art; but in the next generation it became a moral force and reformed our society and religion. Still later, in the third generation from its commencement, it has led to the beginning of the economic modernization of India.

An 'aggressive' Hinduism replaced the shy passive creed that formerly used to be almost ashamed of itself and to stand ever on the defensive amidst growing foes

*and a diminishing number of adherents. The uniformity of administrative system which is a gift of the British age, they have also been tending to fuse the various races and creeds of India into one homogeneous people and to bring about social equality and community of life and thought, which are the necessary basis of nationality.*¹⁰⁵

Awareness that the country's borders must be secured came with British rule. East India Company did not concern itself with the issue. Until the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the north west was nowhere near the British Indian border. Not much however was done by the Governors General even after the British crown took over direct rule of India in 1858. In fact, it was not until after Lord Lytton became Viceroy and Governor General in 1876, a frontier policy began to be officially evolved. Afghanistan was the central concern, because beyond it was the expanding Tzarist empire, and below it, in the south, were what were called tribal areas, belonging to the Afridis and others. Even then, there was no precisely delineated border between India and Afghanistan until 1894 when the Durand Line was drawn after Sir Mortimer Durand negotiated it by visiting Kabul.

Lord Curzon, who became Viceroy in 1899, was acutely conscious of the importance of secure borders. In his words quoted by Michael Edwards, in his book *High Noon of Empire*, London 1965: *'frontiers are indeed the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations.* Edwards continued, *Britain's nervousness about the North-West Frontier was of long standing. All the invasions of India except that of the British themselves had come by way of the passes of the north-west.*

Other frontiers also presented problems which could be menacing. During the first months of Curzon's administration, hostile Russian activity was not confined to the hills of the north west. In Burma, for example, the Russian government asked permission to establish a vice-consulate at Rangoon.

In Curzon's view, this could be intended as nothing other than a centre for espionage. At Kashgar, too, in what was then a centre known as Chinese Turkestan, the Russian representative was engaged in trying to undermine the position of the British Agent.

Edwards further said, *Tibet had sent troops over the border into the little state of Sikkim. Under the terms of a treaty between Britain and China concluded in 1890, Sikkim was under British protection and her actual ruler was a British political officer. Theoretically, Tibet was under Chinese protection. The Tibetans,*

aware of China's military weakness, were preparing to throw off Chinese rule and the Chinese were unable, even had they been willing, to enforce the treaty provisions on the Tibetans.

Along India's northern border was Nepal. Curzon was surprised to discover that relations between British India and the independent state of Nepal were practically non-existent. Nepal's isolation constituted a danger to India. The passes from Nepal were fairly easy to cross and it seemed just possible to him, though in fact it was highly unlikely, that Russia might have her eyes on that route into India. Curzon therefore invited the Nepalese prime minister to visit India.

Further east, the McMahon Line was drawn as the border between Tibet and Assam. It was negotiated between Lhasa and the British at the Simla conference held during 1913-14. All in all, although Lord Curzon might have been overzealous, but the British government demonstrated the need to be aware of the importance of clearly delineated frontiers. How one wishes that the government of independent India had been equally conscious? Had that been so, the Nehru government could have had the Sino-Indian frontier reconfirmed in exchange for recognising Peking's, now Beijing, suzerainty over Tibet way back in 1950. Regarding British intentions, why should they have governed so diligently had their plan been to leave India distraught and divided?

Sir Percival Griffiths ICS, who served all his working life in India and wrote extensively, also deserves to be quoted. *Speaking at the City of London Tavern on the occasion of a dinner given to him by the Honourable East India Company on 6th July 1831 Raja Rammohan Roy said: Before the period in which India had become tributary to Great Britain it was the scene of the most frequent and bloody conflicts. In the various provinces of the Eastern Dominions, nothing was to be seen but plunder and devastation; there was no security for property or for life, until, by the interference of this country, the great sources of discord were checked, education has advanced and the example of the British system of dominion had a conciliating effect on the natives of the East. Mr. Gokhale, apostrophising the British, said: The blessings of peace, the establishment of law and order, the introduction of Western education and the freedom of speech and appreciation of liberal institutions which have followed in its wake - all these are things which stand to the credit of your rule.*

After speaking of the anarchy and insecurity of the pre-British period, Dadabhai Naoroji goes on to say, *contrast this with the results of British rule. Law and order*

are its first blessings. Security of life and property is a recognised right of the people, and is more or less attained according to the means available, or the sense of duty of the officials to whom the sacred duty is entrusted. The native now learns and enjoys what justice between man and man means and that law instead of the despot's will is above all. To the enlightenment of the country, the results of the universities and educational establishments bear witness. In place of the old general darkness and ignorance, thousands of natives have derived, and millions will derive hereafter, the benefit of the highest degree of enlightenment which man has obtained.

In material progress it can easily be seen what impulse will be given to the development of the natural resources of the country by railways, canals, public roads, etc., but more by the introduction of English enterprise generally.

The last but not least of the benefits which India is deriving at the hands of the British is the new political life they are being inspired with. They are learning the most important lesson of the highest political condition that a nation can aspire to. The freedom of speech which the natives are now learning the necessity of, and are enjoying, and with which the natives can now talk to their rulers face to face for what they want is another invaluable blessing.¹⁰⁶

Acknowledgements

Years ago in a town in Gujarat called Savarkundla, I happened to thank the host for entertaining me to dinner. Instead of either saying nothing or acknowledging the gesture, he protested. By saying thanks, you feel, he said, you have squared your obligation. And now you need not reciprocate with a meal when I am next in Delhi. Since then, I am careful not to thank my benefactors in a hurry. Hindu Masjids would not have seen the light of print, but for the spontaneous help I have received from several of my colleagues. For digging up facts, finding information and pursuing research, no one could have been quicker than K.R. Phanda; so I believe. Having found out, he did not abandon me to think and write. His thoughts often set me on the right course.

Photographs taken specially and at the sites, I feel, are an invaluable strength of the book. Few descriptions, even if backed by quotations, convince a reader as quickly as pictures do. My journalist friends tell me that a graphic photograph is worth more than a thousand words. If this proves true of Hindu Masjids, the credit goes to S.C.Chaturvedi. Had it not been for the desktop backing by V.P. Goyal, such speed was inconceivable for me.

Act No. VII of 1904

Passed by the Governor General of India in Council

(Received the assent of the Governor General on the 18th March, 1904)

An Act to provide for the preservation of Ancient Monuments and of objects of archaeological, historical or artistic interest.

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the preservation of ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic in antiquities and over excavation in certain places, and for the protection and acquisition in certain cases of ancient monuments and of objects of archaeological, historical or artistic interest; It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. (1) This Act may be called the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904,
(2) It extends to the whole of British India, inclusive of British Baluchistan, the Sonthal Parganas and the Pargana of Spiti.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context:

(1) "ancient monument" means any structure, erection or monument, or any tumulus or place of interment, or any cave, rock-sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archaeological or artistic interest, or any remains thereof, and includes—

- (a) the site of an ancient monument;
- (b) such portion of land adjoining the site of an ancient monument as may be required for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving such monument; and
- (c) the means of access to and convenient inspection of an ancient monument:

(2) "antiquities" include any moveable objects which the Government, by reason of their historical or archaeological associations, may think it necessary to protect against injury, removal or dispersion:

(3) "Commissioner" includes any officer authorized by the Local Government to perform the duties of a Commissioner under this Act;

(4) "maintain" and "maintenance" include the fencing, covering in, repairing, restoring and cleansing of a protected monument, and the doing of any act which may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining a protected monument or of securing convenient access thereto:

(5) "land" includes a revenue free estate, a revenue-paying estate, and a permanent transferable tenure, whether such estate or tenure be subject to incumbrances or not; and

(6) "owner" includes a joint owner invested with powers of management on behalf of himself and other joint owners, and any manager or trustee exercising powers of management over an ancient monument, and the successor in title of any such owner and the successor in office of any such manager or trustee:

Provided that nothing in this Act shall be deemed to extend the powers which may lawfully be exercised by such manager or trustee.

3. (1) The Local Government, may, by notification in the local official Gazette, declare an ancient monument to be a protected monument within the meaning of this Act.

(2) A copy of every notification published under sub-section (1) shall be fixed up in a conspicuous place on or near the monument, together with an intimation that any objections to the issue of the notification received by the Local Government within one month from the date when it is so fixed up will be taken into consideration

(3) On the expiry of the said period of one month, the Local Government, after considering the objections, if any, shall confirm or withdraw the notification.

(4) A notification published under this section shall, unless and until it is withdrawn, be conclusive evidence of the fact that the monument to which it relates is an ancient monument within the meaning of this Act.

Ancient Monuments

4. (1) The Collector, with the sanction of the Local Government, may purchase or take a lease of any protected monument.

(2) The Collector, with the like sanction, may accept a gift or bequest of any protected monument.

(3) The owner of any protected monument may, by written instrument, constitute the Commissioner the guardian of the monument, and the Commissioner may, with the sanction of the Local Government, accept such guardianship.

(4) When the Commissioner has accepted the guardianship of a monument under sub-section (3), the owner shall, except as expressly provided in this Act, have the same estate, right, title and interest in and to the monument as if the Commissioner had not been constituted guardian thereof.

(5) When the Commissioner has accepted the guardianship of a monument under sub-section (3), the provisions of this Act, relating to agreements executed under section 5 shall apply to the written instrument executed under the said sub-section.

(6) Where a protected monument is without an owner, the Commissioner may assume the guardianship of the monument.

5. (1) The Collector may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, propose to the owner to enter into an agreement with the Secretary of State for India in Council for the preservation of any protected monument in his district.

(2) An agreement under this section may provide for the following matters, or for such of them as it may be found expedient to include in the agreement:

- (a) the maintenance of the monument;
- (b) the custody of the monument, and the duties of any person who may be employed to watch it;
- (c) the restriction of the owner's right to destroy, remove, alter or deface the monument or to build on or near the site of the monument;
- (d) the facilities of access to be permitted to the public or to any portion of the public and to persons deputed by the owner or the Collector to inspect or maintain the monument;
- (e) the notice to be given to the Government in case the land on which the monument is situated is offered for sale by the owner, and the right to be reserved to the Government to purchase land, or any specified portion of such land, at its market value;
- (f) the payment of any expenses incurred by the owner or by the Government in connection with the preservation of the monument;
- (g) the proprietary or other rights which are to vest in His Majesty in respect of the monument when any expenses are incurred by the Government in connection with the preservation of the monument;
- (h) the appointment of an authority to decide any dispute arising out of the agreement; and
- (i) any matter connected with the preservation of the monument which is a proper subject of agreement between the owner and the Government.

(3) An agreement under this section may be executed by the Collector on behalf of the Secretary of State for India in Council, but shall not be so executed until it has been approved by the Local Government.

(4) The terms of an agreement under this section may be altered from time to time with the sanction of the Local Government and with the consent of the owner.

(5) With the previous sanction of the Local Government, the Collector may terminate an agreement under this section on giving six months' notice in writing to the owner.

(6) The owner may terminate an agreement under this section on giving six months' notice to the Collector.

(7) An agreement under this section shall be binding on any person claiming to be owner of the monument to which it relates, through or under a party by whom or on whose behalf the agreement was executed.

(8) Any rights acquired by Government in respect of expenses incurred in protecting or preserving a monument shall not be affected by the termination of an agreement under this section.

6. (1) If the owner is unable, by reason of infancy or other disability, to act for himself, the person legally competent to act on his behalf may exercise the powers conferred upon an owner by section 5.

(2) In the case of village-property, the headman or other village-officer exercising powers of management over such property may exercise the powers conferred upon an owner by section 5.

(3) Nothing in this section shall be deemed to empower any person not being of the same religions as the persons on whose behalf he is acting to make or execute an agreement relating to a protected monument which or any part of which is periodically used for the religious worship or observances of that religion.

7. (1) If the Collector apprehends that the owner or occupier of a monument intends to destroy, remove, alter, deface, or imperil the monument or to build on or near the site thereof in contravention of the terms of an agreement for its preservation under section 5, the Collector may make an order prohibiting any such contravention of the agreement.

(2) If an owner or other person who is bound by an agreement for the preservation or maintenance of a monument under section 5 refuses to do any act which is in the opinion of the Collector necessary to such preservation or maintenance, or neglects to do any such act within such reasonable time as may be fixed by the Collector, the Collector may authorize any person to do any such act, and the expense of doing any such act or such portion of the expense as the owner may be

liable to pay under the agreement may be recovered from the owner as if it were an arrear of land-revenue.

(3) A person aggrieved by an order made under this section may appeal to the Commissioner, who may cancel or modify it and whose decision shall be final.

8. Every person who purchases, at a sale for arrears of land-revenue or any other public demand, or at a sale made under the Bengal Patni Taluks, Regulation, 1819 (8 of 1819), an estate or tenure in which is situated a monument in respect of which any instrument has been executed by the owner for the time being, under section 4 or section 5, and every person claiming any title to a monument from, through or under an owner who executed any such instrument, shall be bound by such instrument.

9. (1) If any owner or other person competent to enter into an agreement under section 5, for the preservation of a protected monument, refuses or fails to enter into such an agreement when proposed to him by the Collector, and if any endowment has been created for the purpose of keeping such monument in repair, or for that purpose among others, the Collector may institute a suit in the court of the District Judge, or, if the estimated cost of repairing the monument does not exceed one thousand rupees, may make an application to the District Judge for the proper application of such endowment or part thereof.

(2) On the hearing of an application under sub-section (1), the District Judge may summon and examine the owner and any person whose evidence appears to him necessary, and may pass an order for the proper application of the endowment or of any part thereof, and any such order may be executed as if it were the decree of a Civil Court.

10. (1) If the local Government apprehends that a protected monument is in danger of being destroyed, injured or allowed to fall into decay, the Local Government may proceed to acquire it under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, as if the preservation of a protected monument were a "public purpose" within the meaning of that Act.

(2) The powers of compulsory purchase conferred by sub-section (1) shall not be exercised in the case of-

(a) any monument which or any part of which is periodically used for religious observances; or

(b) any monument which is the subject of a subsisting agreement executed under section 5.

(3) In any case other than the cases referred to in sub-section (2) the said powers of compulsory purchase shall not be exercised unless the owner or other person competent to enter into an agreement under section 5 has failed, within such rea-

sonable period as the Collector may fix in this behalf, to enter into an agreement proposed to him under the said section or has terminated or given notice of his intention to terminate such an agreement.

11. (1) The Commissioner shall maintain every monument in respect of which the Government has acquired any of the rights mentioned in section 4 or which the Government has acquired under section 10.

(2) When the Commissioner has accepted the guardianship of a monument under section 4, he shall, for the purpose of maintaining such monument, have access to the monument at all reasonable times, by himself and by his agents, subordinates and workmen, for the purpose of inspecting the monument, and for the purpose of bringing such materials and doing such acts as he may consider necessary or desirable for the maintenance thereof.

12. The Commissioner may receive voluntary contributions towards the cost of maintaining a protected monument and may give orders as to the management and application of any funds so received by him:

Provided that no contribution received under this section shall be applied to any purpose other than the purpose for which it was contributed.

13. (1) A place of worship or a shrine maintained by the Government under this Act shall not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character.

(2) Where the Collector has, under section 4, purchased or taken a lease of any protected monument, or has accepted a gift or bequest, or the Commissioner has, under the same section, accepted the guardianship thereof, and such monument, or any part thereof, is periodically used for religious worship or observances by any community, the Collector shall make due provision for the protection of such monument, or such part thereof, from pollution or desecration—

(a) by prohibiting the entry therein, except in accordance with conditions prescribed with the concurrence of the persons in religious charge of the said monument or part thereof, of any person not entitled so to enter by the religious usages of the community by which the monument or part thereof is used, or

(b) by taking such other as he may think necessary in this behalf.

14. With the sanction of the Local Government, the Commissioner may—

(a) where rights have been acquired by Government in respect of any monument under this Act by virtue of any sale, lease, gift or will, relinquish the rights so acquired to the person who would for the time being be the owner of the monument if such rights had not been acquired; or

(b) relinquish any guardianship of a monument which he has accepted under this Act.

15. (1) Subject to such rules as may after previous publication be made by the Local Government, the public shall have a right of access to any monument maintained by the Government under this Act.

(2) In making any rule under sub-section (1) the Local Government may provide that a breach of it shall be punishable with fine which may extend to twenty rupees.

16. Any person other than the owner who destroys, removes, injures, alters, defaces or imperils a protected monument, and any owner who destroys, removes, injures, alters, defaces or imperils a monument maintained by Government under this Act or in respect of which an agreement has been executed under section 5, and any owner or occupier who contravenes an order made under section 7, sub-section (1), shall be punishable with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with imprisonment which may extend to three months or with both.

Traffic in Antiquities

17. (1) If the Governor General in Council apprehends that antiquities are being sold or removed to the detriment of India, or of any neighbouring country, he may, by notification in the Gazette of India, prohibit or restrict the bringing or taking by sea or by land of any antiquities or class of antiquities described in the notification into or out of of British India or any specified part of British India.

(2) Any person who brings or takes or attempts to bring or take any such antiquities into or out of British India or any part of British India in contravention of a notification issued under sub-section (1), shall be punishable with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees.

(3) Antiquities in respect of which an offence referred to in sub-section (2) has been committed shall be liable to confiscation.

(4) An officer of Customs, or an officer of Police of a grade not lower than Sub-Inspector, duly empowered by the Local Government in this behalf, may search any vessel, cart or other means of conveyance, and may open any baggage or package of goods, if he has reason to believe that goods in respect of which an offence has been committed under sub-section (2) are contained therein.

(5) A person who complains that the power of search mentioned in sub-section (4) has been vexatiously or improperly exercised may address his complaint to the Local Government, and the Local Government shall pass such order and may award such compensation, if any, as appears to it to be just.

*Protection of Sculptures, Carvings, Images,
Bas-reliefs, Inscriptions or like objects (Section 18)*

18. (1) If the Local Government considers that any sculptures, carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions or other like objects ought not to be moved from the place where they are without the sanction of the Government, the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, direct that any such object or any class of objects shall not be moved unless with the written permission of the Collector.

(2) A person applying for the permission mentioned in sub-section (1) shall specify the object or objects which he proposes to move, and shall furnish, in regard to such object or objects, any information which the Collector may require.

(3) If the Collector refuses to grant such permission, the applicant may appeal to the Commissioner, whose decision shall be final.

(4) Any person who moves any object in contravention of a notification issued under sub-section (1), shall be punishable with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees.

(5) If the owner of any property proves to the satisfaction of the Local Government that he has suffered any loss or damage by reason of the inclusion of such property in a notification published under sub-section (1), the Local Government shall either—

- (a) exempt such property from the said notification;
- (b) purchase such property, if it be movable, at its market value or;
- (c) pay compensation for any loss or damage sustained by the owner of such property if it be immovable.

19. (1) If the Local Government apprehends that any object mentioned in a notification issued under section 18, sub-section (1) is in danger of being destroyed, removed, injured or allowed to fall into decay, the Local Government may pass orders for the compulsory purchase of such object at its market-value, and the Collector shall thereupon give notice to the owner of the object to be purchased.

(2) The power of compulsory purchase given by this section shall not extend to—

- (a) any image or symbol actually used for the purpose of any religious observance; or

- (b) anything which the owner desires to retain on any reasonable ground personal to himself or to any of his ancestors or to any member of his family.

Excavations

20. (1) If the Local Government is of opinion that excavation within the limits of any local area ought to be restricted or regulated for the purpose of protecting or preserving any ancient monument, the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, make rules-

- (a) fixing the boundaries of the area to which the rules are to apply; and
- (b) prescribing the authority by which, and the terms on which licenses to excavate may be granted.

(2) The power to make rules given by this section is subject to the condition of the rules being made after previous publication.

(3) A rule made under this section may provide that any person committing a breach thereof shall be punishable with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees.

(4) If any owner or occupier of land included in a notification under subsection (1), proves to the satisfaction of the Local Government that he has sustained any loss by reason of such land being so included, the Local Government shall pay compensation in respect of such loss.

General

21. (1) The market value of any property which Government is empowered to purchase at such value under this Act, or the amount of compensation to be paid by Government in respect of anything done under this Act, shall, where any dispute arises touching the amount of such market value or compensation, be ascertained in the manner provided by the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, section 3, 8 to 34, 45 to 47, 51 and 52 so far as they can be made applicable:

1 of 1894

Provided that when making an inquiry under the said Land Acquisition Act, 1894, the Collector shall be assisted by two assessors, one of whom shall be a competent person nominated by the Collector, and one person nominated by the owner or, in case the owner fails to nominate an assessor within such reasonable time as may be fixed by the Collector in this behalf, by the Collector.

22. A Magistrate of the third class shall not have jurisdiction to try any person charged with an offence against this Act.

23. (1) The Governor General in Council or the Local Government may make rules for carrying out any of the purposes of this Act.

(2) The power to make rules given by this section is subject to the condition of the rules being made after previous publication.

24. No suit for compensation and no criminal proceeding shall lie against any public servant in respect of any act done, or in good faith intended to be done, in the exercise of any power conferred by this Act.

Annexure II

**The Ancient and Historical Monuments and
Archæological Sites and Remains
(Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951.**

No. LXXI OF 1951

An Act to declare certain ancient and historical monuments and archæological sites and remains in Part A States and Part D States to be of national importance and to provide for certain matters connected therewith.

[28th November, 1951]

BE it enacted by Parliament as follows:—

1. Short title.— This Act may be called the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archæological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951.
2. Declaration of certain monuments and archæological sites and remains to be of national importance. — The ancient and historical monuments referred to or specified in Part I of the Schedule and the archæological sites and remains referred to or specified in Part II thereof are hereby declared, respectively, to be ancient and historical monuments and archæological sites and remains of national importance.
3. Application of Act VII of 1904 to ancient monuments, etc., declared to be of national importance. —All ancient and historical monuments and all archæological sites and remains declared by this Act to be of national importance shall be deemed to be protected monuments and protected areas, respectively, within the meaning of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, and the provisions of that Act shall apply accordingly to the ancient and historical monuments or archæological sites and remains, as the case may be, and shall be deemed to have so applied at all relevant times.

THE SCHEDULE

(See Section 2)

PART I

Ancient and Historical Monuments

- I. All ancient and historical monuments in Part A States and Part B States which, before the commencement of this Act, have either been declared by the Central Government, to be protected monuments within the meaning of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904. or which have been taken possession of by the Central Government as protected monuments.
- II. The following ancient and historical monuments in Part B States not covered by Item No. 1 immediately preceding:—

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
HYDERABAD STATE		
<i>District Aurangabad</i>		
1.	Ajanta Caves	Ajanta
2.	Aurangabad Caves	Aurangabad
3.	Daulatabad Fort and Monuments therein (e.g. Chand Minar)	Daulatabad
4.	Ellora Caves	Ellora
5.	Pithalkhora Caves	Pithalkhora
6.	Tomb of Aurangzeb	Khuldabad
7.	Tomb of Malik Ambar	Do
8.	Tomb of Rabia Daurani (Bibi-ka-Maqbira)	Aurangabad
<i>District Bidar</i>		
9.	Baibomani Tombs	Ashtur
10.	Barid Shahi Tombs	Bidar City
11.	Bidar Fort	Do
12.	Madrassa Mahmud Gawan	Do
<i>District Gulbarga</i>		
13.	Gulbarga Fort and Great Mosque in the Fort	Gulbarga
14.	Haft Gumbad Tomb of Firoz Shah	Do

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Hyderabad</i>		
15.	Char Minar	Hyderabad City
16.	Golconda Fort and Tombs	Golconda
<i>District Parbhani</i>		
17.	Nagnath Temple	Aundha
<i>District Raichur</i>		
18.	Alampur Temples	Alampur
19.	Mahadev Temple	Ittagi
<i>District Warangal</i>		
20.	Ramappa Temple	Palampet
21.	Thousand Pillar Temple	Hanamkonda
22.	Warangal Fort, Defences and Gateways	Warangal
MADHYA BHARAT STATE		
<i>District Bhilsa</i>		
1.	Athakhamba	Gyaraspur
2.	Bajramath	Do
3.	Hindola Torana	Do
4.	Maladevi Temple	Gyaraspur
5.	Bara Khambi	Udaypur
6.	Pisnarika Temple	Do
7.	Udayeshwar Mahadeva Temple	Do
8.	Bhimagaja	Pathari
9.	Caves	Do
10.	Bijamandal Mosque	Bhilsa
11.	Lohangi Hill Capital	Do
12.	Caves 1 to 20	Udaygiri
13.	Dashavatara Temple	Badoh
14.	Gadarmal Temple	Do

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
15.	Jain Temple	Do
16.	Sola Khambi	Do
17.	Khamb Baba (Heliodoras Pillar)	Besnagar
18.	Brick Temples (Two)	Kherst
19.	Open Air Museum	Do
20.	Fort	Ater
<i>District Dewas</i>		
21.	Siddheshwar Temple	Nemawan
22.	Unfinished Temple	Do.
<i>District Dhar</i>		
23.	Adar Gumbaz	Mand
24.	Alamgir Gate	Do.
25.	Ancient Hindu Baodi	Do.
26.	Ancient Hindu well	Do.
27.	Andheri Baodi	Do.
28.	Ashrafi Mahal	Do.
29.	Baz Bahadur's palace	Do.
30.	Bhagwanian Gate	Do.
31.	Bhangi Gate	Do.
32.	Champa Baodi	Do.
33.	Chhapan Mahal	Do.
34.	Chistikhan's Mahal	Do.
35.	Chor Kot	Do.
36.	Chorakot Mosque	Do.
37.	Nabar Jharokha Compound	Do.
38.	Daika Mahal	Do.
39.	Daike Chhote Behen ka Mahal	Do.
40.	Darya Khan's tomb	Do.
41.	Delhi Gate	Do.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
42.	Dhanmashalla	Do.
43.	Dilawarkhan's Mosque	Do.
44.	Ek-khamba Mahal	Do.
45.	Gadhasa's Palace	Do.
46.	Gadhasa's shop	Do.
47.	Gadi Dharmaja	Do.
48.	Hammam	Do.
49.	Hathi Gate	Do.
50.	Hathi Mahal	Mandu
51.	Hindola Mahal	Do.
52.	Hoshang's tomb	Do.
53.	Jahaz Mahal	Do.
54.	Jahangirpur Gate	Do.
55.	Jama Masjid	Do.
56.	Kali Baodi	Do.
57.	Kapoor Talao and the ruins on its banks	Do.
58.	Lal Bag	Do.
59.	Lal Bungalow	Do.
60.	Lohani Caves	Do.
61.	Lohani Gate	Do.
62.	Jail Mahal	Do.
63.	Nahar Jharoka	Do.
64.	Mahmud's tomb	Do.
65.	Malik Moghi's Mosque	Do.
66.	Mosque near Sopi Tanka	Do.
67.	Mosque near Tarapur Gate	Do.
68.	Mosque north-west of Daryakhan's tomb	Do.
69.	Nameless Tomb	Do.
70.	Nameless Tomb	Do.
71.	Nameless Tomb	Do.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
72.	Nameless Tomb	Do.
73.	Neelkanth	Do.
74.	Rampol Gate and the Mosque opposite to it	Do.
75.	Royal Palaces	Do.
76.	Rupmati Pavilion	Do.
77.	Caravan Sarai	Do.
78.	Sarai near Daryakhan's Tomb	Do.
79.	Sat Kothari Cave	Do.
80.	Somoti Kund	Do.
81.	Songarh Gate	Do.
82.	Tarapur Gate	Do.
83.	Teveli Mahal	Do.
84.	Tomb and Mosque attached	Do.
85.	Tomb north of Almgir Gate	Do.
86.	Tomb north of Daryakhan's tomb	Do.
87.	Tower of Victory	Do.
88.	Tripolia Gate	Do.
89.	Ujali Baodi	Do.
90.	Water Palace	Do.
91.	Bhoja Shala and Kamal Maula's Mosque	Dhar
92.	Latki Masjid	Do.
93.	Buddhist Caves 1 to 7	Bagh
94.	Water Palace	Sadalpur
<i>District Gwalior</i>		
95.	Mahadeva Temple	Amrol
96.	Tila Monument	Pawaya
97.	Tomb of Mohammad Ghaus	Gwalior
<i>District Guna</i>		
98.	Jain Temples 1 to 5	Budhi Chander

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
99.	Chanderi Fort and: Bada Madarasa Battisi Baodi Badal Mahal gateway Jama Masjid Kati Ghati Koshak Mahal Nizam-ud-din's tomb Shahjadi-ka-Roza	Chanderi Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.
100.	Mohajamata temple	Terahi
101.	Monastery	Do.
102.	Torana gate	Do.
103.	Monastery	Kadwaha
104.	Temples 2 to 7	Do.
<i>District Gwalior</i>		
105.	Gwalior fort: Chaturbhuj temple Mansingh's Palace Rock out Jain colossi Sas Bahu temples Teli ka Mandir	Gwalior Do. Do. Do. Do.
<i>District Khargons</i>		
106.	Ballaleshwar	Un
107.	Chaubara Dera	Do.
108.	Gupteshwar	Do.
109.	Jain temples 1 to 3	Do.
110.	Temples of Mahakaleshwar 1 and 2	Do.
111.	Temple of Nilakantheshwar	Do.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Mandasor</i>		
112.	Brahmanical Rockcut temples	Dhamnar
113.	Buddhist Caves	Do.
114.	Nau Torana temple	Khor
115.	Yasodharman's Pillars of Victory	Sondni
<i>District Murena</i>		
116.	Ekottarso Mahadeva temple	Mitaoli
117.	Gadhi	Padhavli
118.	Kakanmadh temple	Suhania
119.	Temple	Padhavli
120.	Temples 1 to 22	Naresar
<i>District Sivapuri</i>		
121.	Large Shiva temple	Mahua
122.	Small Shiva temple	Do.
123.	Monastery	Ranod
124.	Monastery	Surwaya
125.	Open air museum	Do.
126.	Shiva temple	Do.
127.	Surwaya Gadhi	Do.
MYSORE STATE		
<i>District Bangalore</i>		
1.	Apramoyaswami Temple	Malur
2.	Ashurkhana	Doddaballapur
3.	Cenotaph	Bangalore
4.	Old Dungeon Fort and Gates	Do.
5.	Tipu Sultan's Palace	Do.
6.	Fort	Devanahalli
7.	Tipu Sultan's Birthplace	Do.
8.	Syed Ibrahim's Tomb or Bada Makkan	Channapatna

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Chitaldrug</i>		
9.	Akkatangi temple and Asoka inscription on Emmetham mananagundu	Siddapur
10.	Asoka inscriptions	Brahmagiri
11.	Fortress and temples on the hill	Chitaldrug
12.	Hariharsvara temple	Harihar
13.	Inscription and Jatingi, Rameswar temple	Jatingi Ramesvara Hill
14.	Santhebagilu and Rangayyanabagilu with preserved bastions	Chitaldrug
<i>District Hashan</i>		
15.	Adinatha Basti	Halebid
16.	Hoysalesvara temple	Do.
17.	Kedaresvara temple	Do.
18.	Parsvanatha Basti	Do.
19.	Santhinatha Basti	Do.
20.	Akkana Basti	Sravanabelgola
21.	Chandragupta Basti	Do.
22.	Chavundaraya Basti	Do.
23.	Gomatesvara	Do.
24.	Inscriptions	Do.
25.	Parsvanatha Basti	Do.
26.	Buchesvara temple	Koravangala
27.	Fort and Dungeons	Manjarabad
28.	Isvara temple	Arsikere
29.	Kalyani	Hulikere
30.	Kesava temple and inscriptions	Belur
31.	Lakshmidēvi temple	Doddagaddavalli
32.	Lakshminarasimha temple	Nuggehalli

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
33.	Sadashiva temple	Do
34.	Nagesvara and Chennakesava temple	Mosale
<i>District Kadur</i>		
35.	Amritesvara temple	Amritapura
36.	Yupastambha and Isvara temple	Hiremagalur
37.	Vidyasankara temple	Sringeri
38.	Viranarayana temple	Belavadi
<i>District Kolar</i>		
39.	Bhoganandisvara temple	Nandi Hills
40.	Tipu's Palace	Do.
41.	Yoganandisvara temple	Do.
42.	Haidar Ali's Birthplace	Budikote
43.	Kolaramma temple	Kolar
44.	Mokhbara (Mausoleum of Hyder Ali's father)	Do.
45.	Somesvara temple	Do.
46.	Ramalingesvara temples and inscriptions	Avani
<i>District Mysore</i>		
47.	Arkesvara temple	Hale Alur
48.	Gaurisvara temple	Yelandur
49.	Kesava temple	Somanathapur
50.	Kirthinarayana temple	Talkad
51.	Vaidyesvara temple	Do.
52.	Lakshmikanta temple	Mullur
53.	Mallikarjuna temple	Basral
54.	Ramesvara temple	Narasamangala
55.	Sidlu Mallikarjuna temple	Bottadapur
56.	Srikantesvara temple	Nanjangud
57.	Sri Vijayanarayana temple	Gundlupet

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Mandya</i>		
58.	Colonel Bailey's Dungeon	Seringapatam
59.	Daria Daulat Bagh	Do.
60.	Gumbaz containing tomb of Tipu Sultan	Do.
61.	Jumma Masjid	Do.
62.	Obelisk Monuments and Fort walls near the breach	Do.
63.	Spot where Tipu's body was found	Do.
64.	Sri Kanthirava statue in Narasimha temple	Do.
65.	Sri Ranganathasvami temple	Do.
66.	T. Innman's Dungeon	Nagamangala
67.	Kesava temple	Marehalli
68.	Lakshminarasimha temple	Hosaholalu
69.	Lakshminarayana temple	Sindhaghatta
70.	Lakshminarayana temple	Melkote
71.	Narayanasvami temple	Melkote
72.	Panohakuta Basti	Kambadahalli
73.	Panchalingesvara temple	Govindanahalli
74.	Temples	Tonnur
<i>District Shimoga</i>		
75.	Aghoresvara temple	Ikkeri
76.	Anekal temple	Bandalike
77.	Somesvara temple	Do.
78.	Trimurthinarayana temple	Do.
79.	Bastis and inscriptions	Huncha
80.	Bherundersvara temple	Belgavi
81.	Kedaresvara temple	Do.
82.	Tripurantesvara temple	Do.
83.	Devagana ponds	Basavanabyane
84.	Fort	Chennagiri

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
85.	Fort	Kavaledurga
86.	Fortress and Renuka temple	Chandragutti
87.	Inscribed pillar	Malavalli
88.	Inscribed pillar	Talagunda
89.	Pranavesvara temple	Do.
90.	Jain basti with Brahmadeva Pillar	Melagi
91.	Kaitabhesvara temple	Kubatur
92.	Parsvanatha Basti	Do.
93.	Ramesvara temple	Do.
94.	Mallikarjuna and Ramesvara temple	Kadkalsi
95.	Musafirkhana and Honda	Santhebennur
96.	Palace site outside Fort	Nagar
97.	Ramesvara temple	Keladi
98.	Ramesvara temple	Kudli
99.	Shahji's tomb	Hodigere
100.	Shivappa Naik's fort	Nagar
101.	Temples and incriptions	Udri
102.	Ditto	Kuppagadde

District Tumkur

103.	Channigaraya temple	Aralaguppe
104.	Fort	Madhugiri
105.	Jumma Masjid	Sira
106.	Mallik Rihan Darga	Do.
107.	Kedaresvara temple	Nagalapura
108.	Onennakesava temple	Do.

PATIALA AND EAST PUNJAB STATES UNION

District Bhatinda

1.	Bhatinda fort	Bhatinda
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<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Koudaghat</i>		
2.	Pinjaur gardens and monuments of Fidai Khan	Pinjaur
RAJASTHAN STATE		
<i>District Alwar</i>		
1.	Gumbad Khan-i-Khana	Alwar
2.	Siva temple	Do.
<i>District Banswara</i>		
3.	Neel Kantha Mahadeva's temple	Banswara
4.	Siva temple and Ruins	Arthuna
5.	Sun temple	Talwara
<i>District Bharatpur</i>		
6.	Akbar's Chhatri	Bayana
7.	Ancient Fort with its monuments	Do.
8.	Brahmabad Idgah	Do.
9.	Islan Shah's Gate	Do.
10.	Jahangir's Gateway	Do.
11.	Jhajri	Do.
12.	Lodhi's Minar	Do.
13.	Saraj Sad-ul-lah	Do.
14.	Usha Mandir	Do.
15.	Chaurasi Khamba temple	Kaman
16.	Colossal image of Yaksha	Noh
17.	Deeg Bhawans (palace)	Deeg
18.	Looted Gun	Do.
19.	Marble Jhoola	Do.
20.	Delhi Gate	Bharatpur Fort (outside)
21.	Fateh Burj near Anah Gate	Bharatpur

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
22.	Jawahar Burj and ashtadhatu gateway	Bharatpur Fort (inside)
23.	Lal Mahal	Rupvas
<i>District Bikaner</i>		
24.	Bhandasar Jaina Temple	Bikaner
25.	Fort Bhatner	Hanumangarh
26.	Jain temple of Susani Goddess	Morkhena village
27.	Pallu Jaina sculptures	Bikaner
<i>District Bundi</i>		
28.	Wall paintings of Hardoti school in the palace	Bundi
<i>District Dholpur</i>		
29.	Jogni Jogna temple	Dholpur
30.	Sher Garh Fort	Do.
<i>District Dungarpur</i>		
31.	Jaina temple inscription	Baroda
32.	Somnath temple	Dev Somnath
<i>District Jaipur</i>		
33.	Banjaron ki Chhatri containing two pillars similar to the railing pillars of Bharhut stupa	Lalsote
34.	Baori	Abaneri
35.	Harsat Mata-ka-Mandir	Do.
36.	Baories old	Todaraisingh
37.	Kala Pahar temple	Do.
38.	Kalyanraiji's temple	Do.
39.	Laxmi Narainji's temple	Do.
40.	Pipaji's temple (near dispensary)	Do.
41.	Bisal Deoji's temple	Bisalpur
42.	Fresco paintings in the Ambar Palaces (personal property of the Maharaja)	Ambar

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
43.	Harshnath temple	Harshnath—Sikar
44.	Jama Masjid	Ambar
45.	Laxmi Narainji's temple	Do.
46.	Sri Jagat Siromaniji temple	Do.
47.	Sun temple	Do.
48.	Hathi Batha	Kakore
49.	Inscription in Fort	Nagar
50.	Mand Kila tal inscription	Do.
51.	Yupa pillars in Bichpuria temple	Do.
52.	Inscription	Panwar
53.	Jain temple	Sawai Madhopur Alanpur
54.	Persian inscription in a Baori	Do.
55.	Punderikji Haveli—Paintings in a room	Brahmpure
56.	Ranthambhore fort	Ranthambhore
57.	Temple containing Fresco paintings	Gultaji
58.	Yupa pillars recovered from mounds	Barnala
<i>District Jaisalmer</i>		
59.	Fort including ancient temples	Jaisalmer
<i>District Jhalawar</i>		
60.	Buddhist Caves	Hathiagor
61.	Buddhist Caves, Pillars, Idols	Kolvi (Dag)
62.	Buddhist caves and pillars	Binnayaga (Dag)
63.	Caves of Naranjani, etc	Do.
64.	Old temples near the Chandrabhaga	Jhalrapatan
<i>District Jodhpur</i>		
65.	Fort	Mandore
<i>District Karauli</i>		
66.	Wall paintings in the palaces of Maharaja Gopal Lal Karauli	

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Kota</i>		
67.	Old temples, statues and inscriptions	Shergarh
68.	Siva temple and two unpublished Gupta inscriptions	Charchoma
69.	Temple (12th century)	Baran
70.	Temple, fort wall and statues	Dara or Mukandara
71.	Temple with inscriptions	Kanswa
72.	Yupa pillars	Badva
<i>District Udaipur</i>		
73.	Fort of Chitor as a whole	Chitor
74.	Fort of Kumbhalgarh as a whole	Kumbhalgarh
75.	Maha Kal and two other temples	Bijholi
76.	Rock inscription (12th century)	Do.
77.	Sas Bahu temples	Nagada
SAURASHTRA STATE		
1.	Ananteshwar temple	Anandpur
2.	Ashokan Rock	Junagadh
3.	Caves	Do.
4.	Darbargadh Halvad	Halvad
5.	Dhank Caves	Dhank
6.	Gop temple	Gop
7.	House where Mahatma Gandhi was born and Kirti Mandir	Porbandar
8.	Inscription in the Harsata Mata temple	Veraval
9.	Jain Temples	Talaja
10.	Jama Masjid	Veraval
11.	Jami Masjid and Rahimat Masjid, Raveli Musjid	Mangrol
12.	Navlakha temple and Step well	Ghumli
13.	Navlakha temple	Sejakpur

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
14.	Neminath temple with 3 inscriptions V.S. 1333, 35, 39	Mt. Girnar
15.	Nilakantha temple	Anandpur
16.	Pindara, Durvasa Rishi's Ashram and its site	Pindara
17.	Ra Khengar Mahal (temple)	Mt. Girnar
18.	Ranak Devi's temple	Wadhwan
19.	Sun temple	Than
20.	Surya temple	Sutrapada
21.	Talaja Caves	Talaja
22.	Temples— Adishwar temple Balabhai's temple Chaumukha temple Dalpet Bhai and Bhagu Bhai's shrine Keshwaji Nayak temple Moti Shah's Tuk temple Nandeshwara Dipa temple Panch Pandava temple	Shatrunjay Hil
23.	Vastupal Temple	Junagadh
24.	Varaha Mandir	Kadwar

TRAVANCORE-COCHIN STATE

District Trichur

1. Mural Paintings (16-17th Century) on the walls of the Ten-Kailasanatha temple Trichur
2. Mural Paintings (16-17th Century) on the walls of the Mattancheri Palace Mattancheri town
3. Mural Paintings (19-17th Century) on the walls of the Siva Temple Thiruvanchikularo
4. Mural Paintings (17th-18h Century) on the walls of the Srikoil of the Siva Temple at Chemmanthatta Eyyal

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of monument</i>	<i>Locality</i>
5.	Mural Paintings on the walls of the Srikoil of the Pallimanna temple	Vadakkanchery
6.	Mural Paintings on the walls of the Sriramaswami temple at Triprayar	Triprayar
7.	Mural Paintings of the 17th-18th century on the walls of the Srikoils of the Siva Temple at Peruvanam; and wooden bracket images of a still earlier period on the Srikoils of the same shrine	Oorakan
8.	Twenty-nine wooden bracket images on the outer walls of the Srikoil of the Vishnu temple at Katavallur and other works of art in the same shrine	Katavallur

PART II

Archæological sites and remains

1. All archæological sites and remains in Part A States and Part B States which, before the commencement of this Act, have either been declared by the Central Government to be protected areas or which have been taken possession of by the Central Government as protected areas.

The following archæological sites and remains in Part B states not covered by Item No. I immediately preceding :-

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of archæological site or remains</i>	<i>Locality</i>
HYDERABAD STATE		
<i>District Aurangabad</i>		
1.	Ancient mound	Paithan
<i>District Gulbarga</i>		
2.	Prehistoric site	Evathalli
3.	Ditto	Rajankallur
<i>District Medak</i>		
4.	Ancient mound	Kondspur

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of archæological site or remains</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Raichur</i>		
5.	Ancient mound	Kopbal
6.	Ancient mound	Maski
7.	Prehistoric site	Benkal
<i>District Warangal</i>		
8.	Prehistoric site	Janampet
MADHYA BHARAT STATE		
<i>District Bhilsa</i>		
1.	Ancient site	Besnagar
2.	Buddhist stupa	Gyaraspur
3.	Ruins of Gupta temple	Udaygiri
<i>District Dhar</i>		
4.	Ruins in Bhoipura	Mandu
5.	Ruins on the west of Rewa Kund	Do.
<i>District Newar</i>		
6.	Excavated site	Kasrawad
<i>District Gird</i>		
7.	Ancient site	Pawaya
<i>District Ujjain</i>		
8.	Ancient mounds, viz., Bhairon, Gadh, Vaishya Tekri, Kumbhar Tekr	Ujjain
MYSORE STATE		
<i>District Bangalore</i>		
1.	Prehistoric site	Chikjala
2.	Ditto	Hejjala
3.	Ditto	Managondana-halli
4.	Ditto	Sevandurga

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of archaeological site or remains</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Chitaldrug</i>		
5.	Prehistoric site	Brahmagiri
6.	Ditto	Chandravalli
<i>District Kolar</i>		
7.	Prehistoric site	Hunkunda
<i>District Mysore</i>		
8.	Prehistoric site	Kittur
RAJASTHAN STATE		
<i>District Alwar</i>		
1.	Ancient remains	Pandrupol
2.	Ancient site	Bhangadh
<i>District Banswara</i>		
3.	Ancient remains	Vithal Deva
<i>District Bharatpur</i>		
4.	Ancient Mound	Malah
5.	Ditto	Noh
<i>District Bikaner</i>		
6.	Ancient mounds	Badopal
7.	Ditto	Bhadrakali
8.	Ditto	Bhannar Theri
9.	Ditto	in the neighbourhood of Suratgarh town
10.	Ditto	
11.	Ditto	Manak
12.	Ditto	Munda
13.	Ditto	Peer Sultan
14.	Ancient mounds (3)	Rang Mahal
15.	Ancient Mound	Kalibanga
		Pilibanga

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of archaeological site or remains</i>	<i>Locality</i>
16.	Ancient Mound	Baror (Anupgarh Tahsil)
17.	Ancient mounds (2)	Binjor (Anupgarh Tahsil)
18.	Ancient Mound	Chak 86 (Do.)
19.	Ancient Mounds (2)	Mathula (Do.)
20.	Ancient Mound	Tarkhanewala-Dera (Do.)
<i>District Bundi</i>		
21.	Ancient Mounds	Nainwa, Lakheri and Keshwarai Patan
<i>District Jaipur</i>		
22.	Ancient Mound	Abaneri
23.	Ditto	Bundwali-Doongri
24.	Ditto	Gariagarh (Newai)
25.	Ditto	Maheshra
26.	Ditto	Nagar
27.	Ditto	Raniwas
28.	Ditto	Sikrai
29.	Devapura Barodia mounds	Jhalai
30.	Excavated site	Nagar
31.	Ditto	Rairh (Newai)
32.	Excavated sites	Bairat and Sambhar
<i>District Jaisalmer</i>		
33.	Ancient site	Lodruva Patan
<i>District Jhalawar</i>		
34.	Ancient ruins	Dalsagar Ganga Dhar
35.	Ditto	Dudhaliya (Dag)

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of archæological site or remains</i>	<i>Locality</i>
<i>District Kotah</i>		
36.	Ancient ruins and structural remains	Krishnavilas
37.	Ruins of temples	Artu or Ganesh Ganj
<i>District Udaipur</i>		
38.	Ancient ruins	Kalyanpur
39.	Ditto	Nagari
40.	Ditto	Badoli

The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958

(Act No.24 of 1958)

[28th August, 1958]

An Act to provide for the preservation of ancient and historical monuments and archaeological sites and remains of national importance, for the regulation of archaeological excavations and for the protection of sculptures, carvings and other like objects.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Ninth Year of the Republic of India as follows:-

PRELIMINARY

1. (1) This Act may be called the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958.

¹[(2) It extends to the whole of India.]

(3) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires—

(a) “ancient monument” means any structure, erection or monument, or any tumulus or place of interment, or any cave, rock sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archaeological or artistic interest and which has been in existence for not less than one hundred years, and includes—

(i) the remains of an ancient monument,

(ii) the site of an ancient monument,

1. Subs. by Act 52 of 1972, s.33

- (iii) such portion of land adjoining the site of an ancient monument as may be required for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving such monument, and
 - (iv) the means of access to, and convenient inspection of, an ancient monument;
- (b) "antiquity" includes—
- (i) any coin, sculpture, manuscript, epigraph, or other work of art or craftsmanship,
 - (ii) any article, object or thing detached from a building or cave.
 - (iii) any article, object or thing illustrative of science, art, crafts, literature, religion, customs, morals or politics in bygone ages,
 - (iv) any article, object or thing of historical interest, and
 - (v) any article, object or thing declared by the Central Government, by notification in the Official Gazette to be an antiquity for the purposes of this act, which has been in existence for not less than one hundred years;
- (c) "archaeological officer" means an officer of the Department of Archaeology of the Government of India not lower in rank than Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology;
- (d) "archaeological site and remains" means any area which contains or is reasonably believed to contain ruins or relics of historical or archaeological importance which have been in existence for not less than one hundred years, and includes—
- (i) such portion of land adjoining the area as may be required for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving it, and
 - (ii) the means of access to, and convenient inspection of, the area:
- (e) "Director-General" means the Director-General of Archaeology, and includes any officer authorised by the Central Government to perform the duties of the Director-General;
- (f) "maintain", with its grammatical variations and cognate expressions, includes the fencing, covering in, repairing, restoring and cleansing of a protected monument, and the doing of any act which may be necessary for the purpose of preserving a protected monument or of securing convenient access there-to;

- (g) "owner" includes—
- (i) a joint owner invested with powers of management on behalf of himself and other joint owners and the successor-in-title of any such owner; and
 - (ii) any manager or trustee exercising powers of management and the successor-in-office of any such manager or trustee;
- (h) "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act;
- (i) "protected area" means any archaeological site and remains which is declared to be of national importance by or under this Act;
- (j) "protected monument" means an ancient monument which is declared to be of national importance by or under this Act.

¹[2A. Any reference in this Act to any law which is not in force in the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall, in relation to that State, be construed as a reference to the corresponding law, if any, in force in that State.]

ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND
REMAINS OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

3. All ancient and historical monuments and all archaeological sites and remains which have been declared by the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951, or by section 126 of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956 to be of national importance shall be deemed to be ancient and historical monuments or archaeological sites and remains declared to be of national importance for the purposes of this Act. 71 of 1951
37 of 1956.
4. (1) Where the Central Government is of opinion that any ancient monument or archaeological site and remains not included in section 3 is of national importance, it may, by notification in the Official Gazette, give two months notice of its intention to declare such ancient monuments or archaeological site and remains to be of national importance; and a copy of every such notification shall be affixed in a conspicuous place near the monument or site and remains, as the case may be.
- (2) Any person interested in any such ancient monument or archaeological site and remains may, within two months after the issue of the notification, object to the declaration of the monument, or the archaeological site and remains, to be of national importance.

1. Ins. by Act 52 of 1972, s. 33

(3) On the expiry of the said period of two months, the Central Government may, after considering the objections, if any, received by it, declare by notification in the Official Gazette, the ancient monument or the archaeological site and remains, as the case may be, to be of national importance.

(4) A notification published under sub-section (3) shall, unless and until it is withdrawn, be conclusive evidence of the fact that the ancient monument or the archaeological site and remains to which it relates is of national importance for the purposes of this Act.

PROTECTED MONUMENTS

5. (1) The Director-General may, with the sanction of the Central Government, purchase, or take a lease of, or accept a gift or bequest of, any protected monument.
- (2) Where a protected monument is without an owner, the Director-General may, by notification in the Official Gazette, assume the guardianship of the monument.
- (3) The owner of any protected monument may, by written instrument, constitute the Director-General the guardian of the monument, and the Director-General may, with sanction of the Central Government, accept such guardianship.
- (4) When the Director-General has accepted the guardianship of a monument under sub-section (3), the owner shall, except as expressly provided in this Act, have the same estate right, title, and interest in and to the monument as if the Director General had not been constituted a guardian thereof.
- (5) When the Director-General has accepted the guardianship of a monument under sub-section (3), the provisions of this Act relating to agreements executed under section 6 shall apply to the written instrument executed under the said sub-section.
- (6) Nothing in this section shall affect the use of any protected monument for customary religious observances.
6. (1) The Collector, when so directed by the Central Government, shall propose to the owner of a protected monument to enter into an agreement with the Central Government within a specified period for the maintenance of the monument.
- (2) An agreement, under this section may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely;
 - (a) the maintenance of the monument;
 - (b) the custody of the monument and the duties of any person who may be employed to watch it;

- (c) the restriction of the owners right;
 - (i) to use the monument of any purpose
 - (ii) to charge any fee for entry into, or inspection of the monument,
 - (iii) to destroy, remove, alter or deface the monument, or
 - (iv) to build on or near the site of the monument;
- (d) the facilities of access to be permitted to the public or any section thereof or to archaeological officers or to persons deputed by the owner or any archaeological officer or the Collector to inspect or maintain the monument;
- (e) the notice to be given to the Central Government in case the land on which the monument is situated or any adjoining land is offered for sale by the owner, and the right to be reserved to the Central Government to purchase such land, or any specified portion of such land, at its market value;
- (f) the payment of any expenses incurred by the owner or by the Central Government in connection with the maintenance of the monument;
- (g) the proprietary or other rights which are to vest in the Central Government in respect of the monument when any expenses are incurred by the Central Government in connection with the maintenance of the monument;
- (h) the appointment of any authority to decide any dispute arising out of the agreement; and
- (i) any matter connected with the maintenance of the monument which is a proper subject of agreement between the owner and the Central Government.

(3) The Central Government or the owner may, at any time after the expiration of three years from the date of execution of an agreement under this section, terminate it on giving six months' notice in writing to the other party:

Provided that where the agreement is terminated by the owner, he shall pay to the Central Government the expenses, if any, incurred by it on the maintenance of the monument during the five years immediately preceding the termination of the agreement or, if the agreement has been in force for a shorter period, during the period the agreement was in force.

(4) An agreement under this section shall be binding on any person claiming to be the owner of the monument to which it relates, from, through or under a party by whom or on whose behalf the agreement was executed.

7. (1) If the owner of a protected monument is unable, by reason of infancy or other disability, to act for himself, the person legally competent to act on his behalf may exercise the powers conferred upon an owner by section 6.

(2) In the case of village property, the headman or other village officer exercising powers of management over such property may exercise the powers conferred upon an owner by section 6.

(3) Nothing in this section shall be deemed to empower any person not being of the same religion as the person on whose behalf he is acting to make or execute an agreement relating to a protected monument which or any part of which is periodically used for the religious worship or observances of that religion.
8. (1) If any owner or other person competent to enter into any agreement under section 6 for the maintenance of a protected monument refuses or fails to enter into such an agreement, and if any endowment has been created for the purpose of keeping such monument in repair or for that purpose among others, the Central Government may institute a suit in the court of the district judge, or, if the estimated cost of repairing the monument does not exceed one thousand rupees, may make an application to the district judge, for the proper application of such endowment or part thereof.

(2) On the hearing of an application under sub-section (1), the district judge may summon and examine the owner and any person whose evidence appears to him necessary and may pass an order for the proper application of the endowment or any part thereof, and any such order may be executed as if it were a decree of a civil court.
9. (1) If any owner or other person competent to enter into an agreement under section 6 for the maintenance of a protected monument refuses or fails to enter into such an agreement, the Central Government may make an order providing for all or any of the matters specified in sub-section (2) of section 6 and such order shall be binding on the owner or such other person and on every person claiming title to the monument from, through or under, the owner or such other person.

(2) Where an order made under subsection (1) provides that the monument shall be maintained by the owner or other person competent to enter into an agreement, all reasonable expenses for the maintenance of the monument shall be payable by the Central Government.

(3) No order under sub-section (1) shall be made unless the owner or other person has been given an opportunity of making a representation in writing against the proposed order.

10. (1) If the Director-General apprehends that the owner or occupier of a protected monument intends to destroy, remove, alter, deface, imperil or misuse the monument or to build on or near the site thereof in contravention of the terms of an agreement under section 6, the Director-General after giving the owner or occupier an opportunity of making a representation in writing make an order prohibiting any such contravention of the agreement.

Provided that no such opportunity may be given in any case where the Director-General, for reasons to be recorded, is satisfied that it is not expedient or practicable to do so.

(2) Any person aggrieved by an order under this section may appeal to the Central Government within such time and in such manner as may be prescribed and the decision of the Central Government shall be final.

11. (1) If an owner or other person who is bound by an agreement for the maintenance of a monument under section 6 refuses or fails within such reasonable time as the Director-General may fix, to do any act which in the opinion of the Director-General is necessary for the maintenance of the monument, the Director-General may authorise any person to do any such act, and the owner or other person shall be liable to pay the expenses of doing any such act or such portion of the expenses as the owner may be liable to pay under the agreement.

(2) If any dispute arises regarding the amount of expenses payable by the owner or other person under sub-section (1), it shall be referred to the Central Government whose decision shall be final.

12. Every person who purchases, at a sale for arrears of land revenue or any other public demand, any land on which is situated a monument in respect of which any instrument has been executed by the owner for the time being under section 5 or section 6, and every person claiming any title to a monument from, through or under, an owner who executed any such instrument, shall be bound by such instrument.

13. If the Central Government apprehends that a protected monument is in danger of being destroyed, injured, misused, or allowed to fall into decay, it may acquire the protected monument under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act 1894, as if the maintenance of the protected monument were a public purpose within the meaning of that Act.

14. (1) The Central Government shall maintain every monument which has been acquired under section 13 or in respect of which any of the rights mentioned in section 5 have been acquired.

(2) When the Director-General has assumed the guardianship of a monument under section 5, he shall, for the purpose of maintaining such monument, have

access to the monument at all reasonable times, by himself and by his agents, subordinates and workmen, for the purpose of inspecting the monument and for the purpose of bringing such materials and doing such acts as he may consider necessary or desirable for maintenance thereof.

15. The Director-General may receive voluntary contributions towards the cost of maintaining a protected monument and may give orders as to the management and application of any funds so received by him:

Provided that no contribution received under this section shall be applied to any purpose other than the purpose for which it was contributed.

16. (1) A protected monument maintained by the Central Government under this Act which is a place of worship or shrine shall not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character.

(2) Where the Central Government has acquired a protected monument under section 13, or where the Director-General has purchased, or taken a lease or accepted a gift or bequest or assumed guardianship of a protected monument under section 5, and such monument or any part thereof is used for religious worship or observances by any community, the Collector shall make due provision for the protection of such monument or part thereof, from pollution or desecration-

(a) by prohibiting the entry therein, except in accordance with the conditions prescribed with the concurrence of the persons, if any, in religious charge of the said monument or part thereof, of any person not entitled so to enter by the religious usages of the community by which the monument or part thereof is used, or

(b) by taking such other action as he may think necessary in this behalf.

17. With the sanction of the Central Government, the Director-General may—

(a) where rights have been acquired by the Director-General in respect of any monument under this Act by virtue of any sale, lease, gift or will, relinquish, by notification in the Official Gazette, the rights so acquired to the person who would for the time being be the owner of the monument if such rights had not been acquired; or

(b) relinquish any guardianship of any monument which he has assumed under this Act.

18. Subject to any rules made under this Act, the public shall have a right of access to any protected monument.

PROTECTED AREAS

19. (1) No person, including the owner or occupier of a protected area, shall construct any building within the protected area or carry on any mining, quarrying, excavating, blasting or any operation of a like nature in such area, or utilise such area or any part thereof in any other manner without the permission of the Central Government:

Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall be deemed to prohibit the use of any such area or part thereof for purposes of cultivation if such cultivation does not involve the digging of not more than one foot of soil from the surface.

(2) The Central Government may, by order, direct that any building constructed by any person within a protected area in contravention of the provisions of sub-section (1) shall be removed within a specified period and, if the person refuses or fails to comply with the order, the Collector may cause the building to be removed and the person shall be liable to pay the cost of such removal.

20. If the Central Government is of opinion that any protected area contains an ancient monument or antiquities of national interest and value, it may acquire such area under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 as if the acquisition were for a public purpose within the meaning of that Act.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

21. An archaeological officer or an officer authorised by him in this behalf or any person holding a licence granted in this behalf under this Act (hereinafter referred to as the licensee) may, after giving notice in writing to the Collector and the owner, enter upon and make excavations in any protected area.
22. Where an archaeological officer has reason to believe that any area not being a protected area contains ruins or relics of historical or archaeological importance, he or an officer authorised by him on this behalf may, after giving notice in writing to the Collector and the owner, enter upon and make excavations in the area.
23. (1) Where, as a result of any excavations made in any area under section 21 or section 22, any antiquities are discovered, the archaeological officer or the licensee, as the case may be, shall:
- (a) as soon as practicable, examine such antiquities and submit a report to the Central Government in such manner and containing such particulars as may be prescribed;
 - (b) at the conclusion of the excavation operations, give notice in writing to

the owner of the land from which such antiquities have been discovered, of the nature of such antiquities.

(2) Until an order for the ¹[compulsory acquisition] of any such antiquities is made under sub-section (3), the archaeological officer or the licensee, as the case may be, shall keep them in such safe custody as he may deem fit.

(3) On a receipt of a report under sub-section (1), the Central Government may make an order for the ¹[compulsory acquisition of any such antiquities.]

(4) When an order for the [compulsory acquisition] of any antiquities is made under sub-section (3), such antiquities shall rest in the Central Government with effect from the date of the order.

24. No State Government shall undertake or authorise any person to undertake any excavation or other like operation for archaeological purposes in any area which is not a protected area except with the previous approval of the Central Government and in accordance with such rules or directions, if any, as the Central Government may make or give in this behalf.

PROTECTION OF ANTIQUITIES

25. (1) If the Central Government considers that any antiquities or class of antiquities ought not to be moved from the place where they are without the sanction of the Central Government, the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, direct that any such antiquity or any class of such antiquities shall not be moved except with the written permission of the Director-General.

(2) Every application for permission under sub-section (1) shall be in such form and contain such particulars as may be prescribed.

(3) Any person aggrieved by an order refusing permission may appeal to the Central Government whose decision shall be final.

26. (1) If the Central Government apprehends that any antiquity mentioned in a notification issued under sub-section (1) of section 25 is in danger of being destroyed, removed, injured, misused or allowed to fall into decay or is of opinion that, by reason of its historical or archaeological importance, it is desirable to preserve such antiquity in a public place, the Central Government may make an order for the ¹[compulsory acquisition of such antiquity] and the Collector shall thereupon give notice to the owner of the antiquity ²[to be acquired.]

1. Subs, by Act 52 of 1972, s. 33

2. Subs. by Act 52 of 1972, s. 33 (iv) (a).

(2) Where a notice of ¹[compulsory acquisition] is issued under sub-section (1) in respect of any antiquity, such antiquity shall vest in the Central Government with effect from the date of the notice.

(3) The power of ¹[compulsory acquisition] given by this section shall not extend to any image or symbol actually used for *bona fide* religious observances.

PRINCIPLES OF COMPENSATION

27. Any owner or occupier of land who has sustained any loss or damage or any diminution of profits from the land by reason of any entry on, or excavations in, such land or the exercise of any other power conferred by this Act shall be paid compensation by the Central Government for such loss, damage or diminution of profits.

28. (1) The market value of any property which the Central Government is empowered to purchase at such value under this Act or the compensation to be paid by the Central Government in respect of anything done under this Act shall, where any dispute arises in respect of such market value or compensation be ascertained in the manner provided in sections 3, 5, 8 to 31, 15 to 47, 51 and 52 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 so far as they can be made applicable.

Provided that when making an enquiry under the said Land Acquisition Act, the Collector shall be assisted by two assessors, one of whom shall be a competent person nominated by the Central Government and one a person nominated by the owner, or, in case the owner fails to nominate an assessor within such reasonable time as may be fixed by the Collector in this behalf by the Collector.

¹[(2) For every antiquity in respect of which an order for compulsory acquisition has been made under sub-section (3) of section 23 or under sub-section (1) of section 26, there shall be paid compensation and the provisions of sections 20 and 22 of the Antiquities and Art Treasures Act, 1972, shall, so far as may be, apply in relation to the determination and payment of such compensation as they apply in relation to the determination and payment of compensation for any antiquity or art treasure compulsorily acquired under section 19 of the Act.]

MISCELLANEOUS

29. The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, direct that any powers conferred on it by or under this Act shall, subject to such conditions as may be specified in the direction, be exercisable also by:

1. Subs by Act 52 of 1972 s. 33 (iv) (a)

- (a) such officer or authority subordinate to the Central Government, or
- (b) such State Government or such officer or authority subordinate to the State Government,

as may be specified in the direction.

30. (1) Whoever—

- (i) destroys, removes, inquires, alters, defaces, imperils or misuses a protected monument, or
- (ii) being the owner or occupier of a protected monument, contravenes an order made under sub-section (1) of section 9 or under sub-section (1) of section 10, or
- (iii) removes from a protected monument any sculpture, carving, image, bas-relief, inscription or other like object, or
- (iv) does any act in contravention of sub-section (1) of section 19, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with both.

(2) Any person who moves an antiquity in contravention of a notification issued under sub-section (1) of section 25 shall be punishable with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees; and the court convicting a person of such contravention may by order direct such person to restore the antiquity to the place from which it was moved.

31. No court inferior to that of a presidency magistrate or a magistrate of the first class shall try any offence under this Act.
32. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, an offence under clause (i) or clause (iii) of sub-section (1) of section 30, shall be deemed to be a cognisable offence within the meaning of that Code.
33. Notwithstanding anything contained in section 32 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, it shall be lawful for any magistrate of the first class specially empowered by the State Government in this behalf and for any presidency magistrate to pass a sentence of fine exceeding two thousand rupees on any person convicted of an offence which under this Act is punishable with fine exceeding two thousand rupees.
34. Any amount due to the Government from any person under this Act may on a certificate issued by the Director-General or an archaeological officer authorised by him in this behalf be recovered in the same manner as an arrear of land revenue.

35. If the Central Government is of opinion that any ancient and historical monument or archaeological site and remains declared to be of national importance by or under this Act has ceased to be of national importance, it may, by notification in the Official Gazette, declare that the ancient and historical monument or archaeological site and remains, as the case may be, has ceased to be of national importance for the purposes of this Act.
36. Any clerical mistake, patent error or error arising from accidental slip or omission in the description of any ancient monument or archaeological site and remains declared to be of national importance by or under this Act, may, at any time, be corrected by the Central Government by notification in the Official Gazette.
37. No suit for compensation and no criminal proceeding shall lie against any public servant in respect of any act done or in good faith intended to be done in the exercise of any power conferred by this Act.
38. (1) The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette and subject to the condition of previous publication, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act.
(2) In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters namely:
 - (a) the prohibition or regulation by licensing or otherwise of mining, quarrying, excavating, blasting or any operation of a like nature near a protected monument or the construction of buildings on land adjoining such monument and the removal of unauthorised buildings;
 - (b) the grant of licences and permissions to make excavations for archaeological purposes in protected areas, the authorities by whom, and the restrictions and conditions subject to which, such licenses may be granted, the taking of securities from licensees and the fees that may be charged for such licences;
 - (c) the right to access of the public to a protected monument and the fee, if any, to be charged thereof;
 - (d) the form and contents of the report of an archaeological officer or a licensee under clause (a) of sub-section (1) of section 23;
 - (e) the form in which applications for permission under section 19 or section 25 may be made and the particulars which they should contain;
 - (f) the form and manner of preferring appeals under this Act and the time within which they may be preferred;
 - (g) the manner of service of any order or notice under this Act;

(h) the manner in which excavations and other like operations for archaeological purposes may be carried on;

(i) any other matter which is to be or may be prescribed.

(3) Any rule made under this section may provide that a breach thereof shall be punishable;

(i) in the case of a rule made with reference to clause (a) of sub-section (2) with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with both;

(ii) in the case of a rule made with reference to clause (b) of sub-section (2), with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees;

(iii) in the case of a rule made with reference to clause (c) of sub-section (2), with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees.

(4) All rules made under this section shall be laid for not less than thirty days before each House of Parliament as soon as possible after they are made, and shall be subject to such modifications as Parliament may make during the session in which they are so laid or the session immediately following.

39. (1) The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951 and section 126 of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, are hereby repealed.

(2) The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, shall cease to have effect in relation to ancient and historical monuments and archaeological sites and remains declared by or under this Act to be of national importance, except as respects things done or omitted to be done before the commencement of this Act.

**The Places of Worship (Special Provisions)
Act, 1991**

(Act No. 42 of 1991)

An Act to prohibit conversion of any place of worship and to provide for the maintenance of the religious character of any place of worship as it existed on the 15th day of August, 1947, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Forty-second Year of the Republic of India as follows:

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

In view of the controversies arising from time to time with regard to conversions of places of worship, it is felt that such conversions should be prohibited.

2. In order to foreclose any controversy in respect of any place of worship that existed on 15th day of August, 1947 it is considered necessary to provide for the maintenance of the religious character of such place of worship as it existed on the 15th day of August, 1947. As a consequence thereof, all the suits or other proceedings pending as on 11th day of July, 1991 with respect to any of such places of worship, may abate and also further suits of other proceedings may be barred.

3. However, since the case relating to the place commonly called Ram Janma Bhumi-Babri Masjid forms a class by itself, it has become necessary to exempt it entirely from the operation of this Act.

4. Moreover, in order to maintain communal harmony and peace, matters decided by courts, tribunals or other authorities, or those settled by parties amongst themselves or through acquiescence, between 15th day of August, 1947 and the 11th day of July, 1991 are also exempted from the operation of this Act.

5. The 11th day of July, 1991 is proposed as the commencement date of the Act as on that day the President addressed the Parliament making such a declaration.

Comments

For determining the purpose or object of the legislation, it is permissible to look into the circumstances which prevailed at the time when the law was passed and which necessitated the passing of that law. For the limited purpose of appreciating the background and the antecedent factual matrix leading to the legislation, it is permissible to look into the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Bill which actuated the step to provide a remedy for the then existing malady.¹

Preamble—Meaning of—Preamble means merely the prefatory note or the introductory paragraph containing casual or passing reference to insignificant facts not intended to be relied upon.²

1. Short title, extent and commencement.—(1) This Act may be called the Place of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991.

(2) It extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(3) The provisions of Secs. 3,6 and 8 shall come into force at once and the remaining provisions of this Act shall be deemed to have come into force on the 11th day of July, 1991.

Comments

Construction of Statute.—A statute is to be construed according to the intent of them that make it and the duty of judicature is to act upon the true intention of the Legislature the *means sententia legis*.³

It is the duty of Courts to accept a construction which promotes the object of the legislation and also prevents its possible abuse even through the mere possibility of abuse of a provision does not affect its constitutionality or construction. Abuse has to be checked by constant vigilance and monitoring of individual cases by a suitable machinery at a high level.⁴

2. Definitions.—In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

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1. Shashikant Laxman Kale v. Union of India, A.I.R. 1990 S.C. 2114 at p. 2119; see also Union of India v. Deoki Nandal Aggarwal, A.I.R. 1992 S.C. 96 at p. 101.
 2. Sanju Dora v. State of Orissa, 1995 Cr.L.J. 3150 at p. 3151 (Orissa).
 3. Chain Singh v. State of Rajasthan, A.I.R. 1991 Raj. 17 at p. 28; see also Mohan Kumar Singhania v. Union of India, A.I.R. 1992 S.C. 1 at p. 21; Byram Pestonji Gariwala v. Union Bank of India. (1992) 1 S.C.C. 31 at p. 44; Umakant v. Dr. Bhikalal Jain, (1992) 1 S.C.C. 105 at pp. 113, 114.
 4. Sanjay Dutt v. State, 1995 Cr.L.J. 477 at p. 490 (S.C.).

(a) "commencement of this Act" means the commencement of this Act on the 11th day of July, 1991;

(b) "conversion" with its grammatical variations, includes alteration or change of whatever nature;

(c) "place of worship" means a temple, mosque, gurudwara, church, monastery of any other place of public religious worship of any religious denomination or any section thereof, by whatever name called.

3. Bar of conversion of places of worship.—No person shall convert any place of worship of any religious denomination or any section thereof into a place of worship of a different section of the same religious denomination or of a different religious denomination or any section thereof.

4. Declaration as to the religious character of certain places of worship and bar of jurisdiction of courts, etc.—(1) It is hereby declared that the religious character of a place of worship existing on the 15th day of August, 1947 shall continue to be the same as it existed on that day.

(2) If, on the commencement of this Act, any suit, appeal or other proceeding with respect to the conversion of the religious character of any place of worship, existing on the 15th day of August, 1947 is pending before any court, tribunal or other authority, the same shall abate, and no suit, appeal or other proceeding with respect to any such matter shall lie on or after such commencement in any court, tribunal or other authority:

Provided that if any suit, appeal or other proceeding instituted or filed on the ground that conversion has taken place in the religious character of any such place after the 15th day of August, 1947, is pending on the commencement of this Act, such suit, appeal or other proceeding shall be disposed of in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (1).

(3) Nothing contained in sub-sections (1) and (2) shall apply to—

(a) any place of worship referred to in the said sub-sections which is an ancient and historical monument or an archaeological site or remains covered by the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958 (24 of 1958), or any other law for the time being in force;

(b) any suit, appeal or other proceeding, with respect to any matter referred to in sub-section (2), finally decided, settled or disposed of by a court, tribunal or other authority before the commencement of this Act.

(c) any dispute with respect to any such matter settled by the parties amongst themselves before such commencement;

(d) any conversion of any such place effected before such commencement by acquiescence;

(e) any conversion of any such place effected before such commence-

ment which is not liable to be challenged in any court, tribunal or other authority being barred by limitation under any law for the time being in force.

Comment

Proviso.—It is cardinal rule of interpretation that a proviso to a particular provision of a statute only embraces the field which is covered by the main provision. It carves out an exception to the main provision to which it has been enacted by the proviso and to no other. The proper function of a proviso is to except and deal with a case which would otherwise fall within the general language of the main enactment, and its effect is to confine to that case, where the language of the main enactment is explicit and unambiguous, the proviso can have no repercussion on the interpretation of the main enactment, so as to exclude from it, by implication what clearly falls within its express terms.¹

5. Act not to apply to Ram Janma Bhumi-Babri Masjid.—Nothing contained in this Act shall apply to the place or place of worship commonly known as Ram Janma Bhumi-Babri Masjid situated in Ayodhya in the State of Uttar Pradesh and to any suit, appeal or other proceeding relating to the said place or place of worship.

6. Punishment for contravention of Sec. 3.—(1) Whoever contravenes the provisions of Sec. 3 shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine.

(2) Whoever attempts to commit any offence punishable under subsection (1) or to cause such offence to be committed and in such attempt does any act towards the commission of the offences shall be punishable with punishment provided for the offence.

(3) Whoever abets, or is a party to a criminal conspiracy to commit, an offence punishable under sub-section (1) shall, whether such offence be or be not committed in consequence of such abetment or in pursuance of such criminal conspiracy, and notwithstanding anything contained in Sec. 116 of the Indian Penal Code (45 of 1860) be punishable with the punishment provided for the offence.

Comments

Abetment.—Section 116 of the Indian Penal Code, deals with abetment of offences punishable with imprisonment. The said section is reproduced here as under:

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1. A.N. Sehgal v. Raja Ram Sheoram, A.I.R. 1991 S.C. 1406 at p. 1414; see also Tribhovandas Haribhai Tamboli v. Gujarat Revenue Tribunal, A.I.R. 1991 S.C. 1538; (1991)3 S.C.C. 442 at p. 447; Toguru Sudhakar Reddy v. Government of A.P., A.I.R. 1992 A.P. 19; Krishna Chandra Mandal v. Smt. Mandavi Devi, A.I.R. 1996 Pat. 159 at p. 162.

“116. *Abetment of offence punishable with imprisonment—If offence be not committed.*—Whoever abets an offence punishable with imprisonment shall, if that offence be not committed in consequence of the abetment, and no express provision is made by this Code for the punishment of such abetment, be punished with imprisonment of any description provided for that offence for a term which may extend to one-fourth part of the longest term provided for that offence; or with such fine as is provided for that offence, or with both.

If abettor or person abetted be a public servant whose duty it is to prevent offence.—If the abettor or the person abetted is a public servant, whose duty it is to prevent the commission of such offence, the abettor shall be punished with imprisonment of any description provided for that offence, for a term which may extend to one-half of the longest term provided for that offence, or with such fine as is provided for the offence, or with both.”

Abetment.—The offence of abetment is complete when the alleged abettor has instigated another or engaged with another in a conspiracy to commit the offence. It is not necessary for the offence of abetment that the act abetted must be committed.¹

In order to constitute abetment, the abettor must be shown to have “intentionally” aided to commission of the crime. Mere proof that the crime charged could not have been committed without the interposition of the alleged abettor is not enough compliance with the requirements of Sec. 107. It is not enough that an act on the part of the alleged abettor happens to facilitate the commission of the crime.²

Thus, the petitioner has been able to make out a case that from the evidence which has been brought on record, there is nothing to suggest that the petitioner was aiding or he committed any overt act which resulted in abetment. There is nothing on record that there was any instigation, on any positive step was taken by the petitioner.³

When no inference of abetment can be drawn.—No inference of abetment can be drawn against the husband and in laws, specially when there was no reliable evidence of torture or cruelty for bringing insufficient dowry.⁴

Penal provision—Interpretation of.—The settled rule of construction of penal provisions is, that “if there is a reasonable interpretation which will avoid the penalty in any particular case, the Court must adopt that construction and if there are two reasonable constructions, the Court must give the more lenient one”; and if ‘two possible and reasonable constructions can be put upon a penal provision, the Court must lean towards that construction which exempts the subject from penalty rather than the one which imposes penalty.’⁵

1. Jamuna Singh v. State of Bihar, A.I.R. 1987 S.C. 553 at p. 554.

2. Raja Asari v. State, 1995 (4) Crimes 461 at p. 468 (Mad.).

3. Jagdish Prasad Agrawal v. State of M.P., 1996 (4) Crimes 13 at p. 16. (M.P.).

4. Bansiya v. State of Rajasthan, 1995 (3) Crimes 75 at p. 79 (Raj.).

7. Act to override other enactments.—The provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any other law for the time being in force or any instrument having effect by virtue of any law other than this Act.

8. Amendment of Act 43 of 1951.—In Sec. 8 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, in sub-section (1).—

(a) in Cl. (i), the word “or” shall be inserted at the end;

(b) after Cl. (i) as so amended, the following clause shall be inserted, namely:—

(i) Sec. 6 (offence of conversion of a place of worship) of the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991.”

5. Sanjay Dutt v. State, 1995 Cr.L.J. 477 at p. 490 (S.C.); see also S.K.D. Lakshmanan Fireworks Industries, M/s. v. K.V. Sivarama Krishnan, 1995 Cr.L.J. 1384 at p. 1390 (Ker.) (F.B.).

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HINDU MASJIDS

Symbolises the longstanding conflict between Hindus and Muslims, and tries to offer a solution. From Emperor Akbar to Rajiv Gandhi, many have tried to build bridges of friendship between the two communities but all of them, including Mahatma Gandhi, have failed. As the last five decades have proved, the partition of 1947 did not solve the problem.

Several scholars have, over the years, listed hundreds of temples and described their desecration but none before the author has drawn *a clear distinction between a mandir converted into a masjid in contrast to a mosque built with the rubble of a demolished temple. Even Cunningham, who toured north India extensively in the course of 1838-1855 and published his surveys in 23 voluminous reports, did not make the distinction.*

Prafull Goradia has visited every masjid or dargah that has been discussed. Not alone, but accompanied by a research scholar as well as an excellent photographer. He now appeals to Muslims to abandon and not use these ill-gotten or looted edifices for praying to their one and only god, Allah.

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